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ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ON SOCIAL QUESTIONS

ENQUIRY INTO MEASURES
OF REHABILITATION
OF PROSTITUTES

(Part I)

PROSTITUTES : THEIR EARLY LIVES

CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	5
INTRODUCTION.....	7
I. ANALYSIS OF REPLIES :	
Age	12
Nationality and Civil Status.....	13
Legitimacy	21
Mental Capacity and Characteristics.....	22
Venereal Disease	27
Home Conditions	28
Education	36
Employment	38
First Sexual Experience	43
Age at beginning Prostitution and Alleged or Supposed Reasons for doing so	45
Convictions	55
Social Service Assistance	59
CONCLUDING REMARKS	63
II. SUMMARIES OF REPLIES :	
From Governments :	
Belgium	71
United Kingdom	75
Canada	78
Chile	81
Denmark	83
United States of America	87
France	92
India	95
Italy	104
Japan	106
Poland	106
Roumania	109
Turkey	112
Uruguay	114

	Page
From Voluntary Associations :	
Sent by the International Bureau for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children :	
Danzig	116
Hungary	118
Switzerland.....	121
Sent by the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls, Women and Children :	
Argentine Republic	123
United Kingdom	125
Sent by the International Federation for Aid to Young Women :	
Roumania	127
Sent by the Women's International Organisations :	
France	130
India	131
Norway	132
Netherlands	134
Czechoslovakia	135
ANNEXES :	
I. Questionnaire	138
II. Governments and Voluntary Organisations to which Part III of the Questionnaire was sent.....	140

PREFACE

One of the first questions examined by the League of Nations Traffic in Women and Children Committee was the connection between licensed houses of prostitution and the traffic in women. From the beginning several delegates maintained the opinion that licensed houses were centres of traffic, and this belief was strikingly confirmed by the findings of a body of experts set up by the Committee to discover the extent and nature of the traffic in women.¹ After investigations carried on in over a hundred cities in twenty-eight countries, these experts reported in 1927; their conclusions contained the very positive statement that the existence of licensed houses was undoubtedly an incentive to traffic, both national and international.

As the desirability of abolishing licensed brothels became generally accepted, more of the Committee's time was occupied with discussing the constructive measures which should accompany abolition and, in particular, the rehabilitation of prostitutes who occupied licensed brothels. This was considered so important a complement of abolition that it was mentioned in the 1934 resolutions which were the outcome of the "licensed-house" enquiry. They include a sentence stating that whenever licensed houses are closed, it is essential that measures should be adopted to rehabilitate the women concerned.

This resolution was the origin of the enquiry into methods of rehabilitation. Begun on a small scale, and limited at first to direct measures of rehabilitation, it grew both in subject and extent. In 1935, a questionnaire in three parts

¹ The American Bureau of Social Hygiene subscribed a sum of 75,000 dollars towards the cost of this enquiry.

was sent out to all States Members of the League of Nations and non-members and to the voluntary organisations represented by assessors on the Committee. The first part contained questions on direct measures of rehabilitation; the second, on the extent to which social assistance is combined with treatment for venereal disease; the third, on the antecedents of prostitutes.¹ The results of the enquiry, as far as they had been received, were submitted to the Committee in 1936, and the Rapporteur and the Secretariat were then authorised to publish the three parts separately as soon as they were completed. "Social Services and Venereal Disease"—Part II—was published in January 1938; Part III—rehabilitation methods—is being prepared; and the present volume on the antecedents of prostitutes forms Part I.

The Advisory Committee on Social Questions (which replaced the Traffic in Women and Child Welfare Committees) decided in 1937 to complete the rehabilitation enquiry with a study in the prevention of prostitution. This study will be undertaken in 1939. Mr. S. Cohen, General Secretary of the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls, Women and Children, has acted as Rapporteur throughout the enquiry.

¹ The Committee decided to send this part of the questionnaire only to the Governments and organisations represented on the Committee.

INTRODUCTION

This report is part of a study in the rehabilitation of prostitutes undertaken in 1934 by the League of Nations' Advisory Committee on Social Questions; its subject is the early life of women who afterwards became prostitutes, beginning with their homes and ending with their first conviction.

To obtain the necessary material, the Committee first determined the points on which information was needed. In part, these were facts describing the woman herself—her age, nationality, civil status and mental level; in part, the facts of her history—her home and the age at which she left it, her education, her employment, her age at first conviction, and the social assistance she received. In 1935, a list of questions ¹ on these points was sent to fifteen Governments and six voluntary associations.² Each was asked to fill in the answers for fifty or more prostitutes who should be, if possible, adult women and nationals of their country. Replies were received describing 2,659 women in twenty countries; they formed the material for this report.

Most of the replies were sent in the form of separate case-sheets for each woman, but there were three exceptions to this rule. In 1935, Dr. Tage Kemp completed a study of prostitution in Denmark, for which he examined 530 prostitutes in Copenhagen; his work was sent by the Danish Government as their reply. It answered nearly all the suggested questions and it added interesting supplementary

¹ For the text of the questionnaire, see Annex I.

² The names of the Governments and associations are given in Annex II.

information. Two of the answers sent by the women's international organisations¹ did not contain case-sheets. One—from the Netherlands—was an analysis of 123 cases in police files; the other—from India—was a short general account of Indian prostitutes.

Besides this one major difference, there were of course minor variations between the answers. Questions were added or omitted; sometimes, the questions were entirely dispensed with and replaced by short and often vivid life histories; the answers were given in varying detail. Since these differences appear in the summary of answers at the end of the report, they need not be set out here. The points on which additional information was most often given are the age at which the woman became a prostitute and her reasons for doing so.

The material was collected in each country from three main sources: police and prison files, medical records in hospitals and clinics and the records of assistance given by voluntary societies and homes. The first source has been the most fertile and has supplied information about half the cases. Often, though, the official record has only been used to provide names and part of the answers and has been added to by social workers or medical officers. For example, the United Kingdom police-court case-sheets were filled in by probation officers and often show personal knowledge of the woman and her family; the very thorough and detailed case-sheets from the United States of America were compiled with the help of the research psychologist on the staff of the New York City house of detention.

The other two sources have supplied between 200 and 300 cases each, and of the remainder, the fifty-four Uruguayan cases were taken from the register of prostitutes;

¹ Here and elsewhere in the report the term "women's international organisations" is used for the twelve organisations which are jointly represented under that title on the Advisory Committee on Social Questions.

some of the case-sheets and analyses sent by the women's international organisations seem to be the result of direct investigation by their members; and the origin of thirty-six cases sent by the Government of the United Provinces (India) and of fifty case-sheets sent by the Italian Government is unknown.

It is generally uncertain on what principles the case-sheets were chosen. The questionnaire suggested that they should be taken in the order in which they appeared in the records, and four answers—from the Governments of Canada and the United Kingdom ¹ and from the Argentine and United Kingdom branches of the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls, Women and Children—state that this was done. For one answer, the most interesting cases were chosen. The preface to the case-sheets from the United States observes that, "in picking out the above-mentioned fifty cases, those which held the most complete data were most likely to be chosen", and this may also have been the method followed in other countries.

How accurate and how representative is the picture shown by these replies? Before this question can be answered, several facts must be taken into consideration.

The first is the large geographical area covered. The report attempts to compare descriptions of prostitutes in twenty countries, each with its own customs and conditions. Further, the information was not collected by a single body of workers following a fixed method but by a great many separate investigators of different nationality, status and outlook. The difficulty of comparing the material arises even over simple statements of fact such as the type of education or employment, since the same figures may not have the same meaning in two different countries; when the reply entails the exercise of judgment—for example, an estimate of the woman's intelligence—the difficulties are greater still.

¹ Of the 218 cases, 160 were consecutive.

Secondly, the material often loses in interest through the lack of comparable information about other sections of the public with which to compare it. When facts of history and environment are frequently repeated in the case-sheets—for example, a childhood spent with relatives or strangers, an uncompleted education—it is natural to wonder whether they were not sometimes predisposing causes of prostitution; but the question could be answered more definitely if it were known how many other children had the same upbringing without the same results.

Thirdly, only a few investigators could fill in the answers from their own knowledge. The great majority had to reply on the account given by the women themselves, and there is reason to believe that often this was not the true one. Social workers have found that some prostitutes have a standard life story intended to inspire sympathy and discount their own responsibility. Others enjoy pretending to be more cynical, avaricious and hard-hearted than they are. Others are naturally reserved or do not like to speak freely out of a vague fear of the law. Again, the relationship between the prostitutes and the investigator will affect the accuracy of the replies. Doctors, nurses and social workers are often told the truth more readily than officials, particularly if they are already known and trusted.

Finally, this report, in common with nearly all other studies on prostitution, suffers from the defect of giving undue prominence to one stratum of prostitutes—the commercially unsuccessful. It is they who appear in police courts, who go to prison because they cannot afford to pay a fine, who are treated in public hospitals and helped by social workers or charitable organisations, and consequently it is they whose lives are known while their more prosperous or more intelligent sisters escape notice or record. Some replies, in fact, draw attention to this point. Dr. Kemp writes: "One must therefore admit that we are primarily concerned with that group of Copenhagen

prostitutes least able to get on in life", and the preface to the United States case-sheets observes :

" It is only the most benighted of this large class—the women who would in all probability have been unsuccessful no matter what their profession—that have come under the terms of this survey. The statements which follow can have no bearing upon the upper strata of prostitutes and courtesans."

On the whole, although this report does not describe all classes of prostitutes, it is probably as representative as the majority of works on this subject. In one respect, it is indeed more representative because of the wide area which it covers. In accuracy of detail, it cannot rival certain national studies, partly because the researches have been less lengthy and less thorough, partly because the data has been collected by so many investigators with different standards. From the very terms of the enquiry, in fact, the value of its results must lie, not in correctness of detail or numerical exactitude, but in an exposition of general tendencies and of broad national differences and similarities.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE REPORT.

The first part of the report is an analysis of the replies arranged under the headings of the questions asked. The order of the questions has been altered to make part of the account chronological. The first six sections describe the women themselves; and the next seven, the events of their history, beginning with their home conditions and ending with the social assistance they received at their first conviction. All the information in the replies—especially small national differences—could not be embodied in the analysis without overburdening it with figures. The second part of the report is therefore a summary of the answers received, arranged under national headings and on a standard plan. Answers containing less than fifteen case-sheets have not been made use of.

I. ANALYSIS OF REPLIES

AGE.

The first facts to be considered are those describing the women themselves and, to begin with, their age at the time of the enquiry. 1,698 case-sheets give this information, and they show the following distribution among age-groups :

Age		%
Under 21.....	180	10.6
21-25	605	35.6
26-30	469	27.6
31-35	231	13.6
36-40	119	7.0
Over 40	94	5.5

Probably a census of prostitutes would, in fact, yield a lower average age than this table. There are several reasons why this should be so. Some of the case-sheets described women who had not prostituted themselves for several years, and some of the material sent from institutions may refer to women who have been there for some time. Further, some countries, in accordance with the terms of the enquiry, limited their investigations to adult women.

In nine lists,¹ the distribution is roughly the same as in the total given above—*i.e.*, 60% to 85% of the women were under 30—but others show considerably higher or lower averages. In both the Belgian and Danzig case-sheets, little more than a quarter of the women were under 30. The Danzig figures can be attributed partly to chance, since the list is a short one. A closer examination of the

¹ From the Argentine (Jewish Association), the United Kingdom, Canada, Denmark, the United States, France, India, Poland and Turkey.

Belgian list, however, suggests that not only chance is responsible for the high average age. For these women were not only older than others at the time of the enquiry; they were also older when they became prostitutes and when they were first convicted. There is no apparent reason for this.

The other lists with a fairly high average age are those from Italy, the Netherlands and Norway. Those with the lowest average age come from Chile (all the women were under 30), Roumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland.

These differences of average age partly explain other variations between the lists. They may account for differences in education, since the older women were children at a time when, in some countries, compulsory education was less rigidly enforced; they have certainly helped to produce differences in the number of convictions and the social assistance received. It is striking in the Belgian list how many more of the younger women received offers of help at their first conviction than the older. Lastly, since some observers believe that long years of prostitution dull the intelligence, differences in age may also affect the figures of mental capacity.

NATIONALITY AND CIVIL STATUS.

The next two points to be considered are the nationality of the women and their civil status. The statistics of nationality are of course of no value in indicating the actual proportion of foreign prostitutes in any country,¹ since the investigators were especially asked to choose cases from among their own nationals. Eighteen of the lists, in fact, contain either no foreigners at all or only a very few. The

¹ The analysis of Amsterdam police files sent by a voluntary organisation gives an idea of the proportion of foreign prostitutes in that city; they constituted 17.3% of the 1,600 cases examined, whereas the percentage of foreign women in Amsterdam is 2.7.

one striking exception is the set of twenty-five case-sheets from the Argentine, in which only two of the women were Argentinians and twenty-three of European origin. This is explained by the fact that the list was sent by a branch of the Jewish Association in Buenos Aires. All the women were therefore Jewish; many of them recent immigrants from Eastern Europe. The two Roumanian lists also show a comparatively high proportion of foreigners—seventeen women out of eighty-three—*i.e.*, 20 %. The seventeen were mostly Hungarians or of Russian origin.

Two countries which have replied are in a rather special position, as their population is made up of different races. The case-sheets for both these countries show that an unduly high proportion of prostitutes belong to the races which are numerically weakest. The proportion of negroes and women of mixed race in the United States case-sheets is high, far higher than in the population as a whole. Only 38% of the prostitutes questioned were white, whereas the proportion of whites in the total population is 89%. The Canadian answer shows the same situation. Only 1% of the population are native North-American Indians, but these constitute 10% of the case-sheets. Of the women in the case-sheets, 4% are negroes, compared to $\frac{1}{4}$ % in the population as a whole. The United States case-sheets also state that the fathers of more than a quarter of the women were not born in the United States.

Twenty lists containing 1,858 case-sheets give complete information on civil status. These statistics are valuable because, studied in conjunction with the other facts in the case-sheets, they throw light on the whole relationship between prostitution and marriage. In the first place, they show a substantial proportion of married women. Taking all the case-sheets together, one-third of the women were, or had been, married. The proportion is slightly higher than a third in the lists from Belgium, the United Kingdom,

Canada and Denmark and rather more than half in the United States list. The two answers with the highest percentages come from the Argentine and India. Of the twenty-five prostitutes whose case-sheets were sent by the Buenos Aires Committee of the Jewish Association, fifteen were married, but this high rate is probably not representative of the country as a whole. Only two of the women described in the case-sheets were Argentinians; the rest were Europeans who had emigrated with their husbands and, according to their own account, had not practised prostitution before their arrival. In the Indian case-sheets (from Bengal, Bombay and the United Provinces), nearly two-thirds of the women were married.

Two other striking facts emerge from the accounts of the marriages. The first is the remarkable number of women who married very young. In the United States list, where the age of marriage is given throughout, over two-thirds of the women were married at 18 or younger; one at 13; one at 14; four at 15; three at 16. This might be considered a peculiarity of the United States, where marriage is relatively easy and the marriage rate is high, were it not confirmed by the data in the other case-sheets. Of the six married women in the Lyons list, one was married at 16, one at 17, one at 18, one at 19; two-thirds, that is to say, under 20. Of the fourteen in the list from Nancy, four were married at 16, one at 17, two at 18. The Brussels case-sheets contain twenty-two married women; six were married at 18, two at 19. Whereas a committee on the age of consent reported in 1929 that probably about 50% of Indian women were married before they were 15, in the answers from Bengal and Bombay over 90% of the women whose marriage age is given were married before 15, and several others said they had been married very young.

The second striking fact is that whenever information is given on the subsequent course of the marriages, it shows that nearly all were failures. There are, of course, examples

of lasting relationships—a woman in the American list has been married nineteen years—but it is significant that the replies with the fullest information show few successes. To take, for example, the eight marriage histories in the case-sheets from Var (France). One woman left her family when she married at the age of 20. Her husband deserted her four years later, leaving her with two young children. She could not find work and so entered a licensed brothel in Toulon, in order to keep her children. The second was married at 18 and deserted three years later. She was left with two small children. The third quarrelled with her husband and left him. The fourth was married at 17 and deserted by her husband when she was 20. The fifth was deserted by her husband. The sixth ran away with a lover. The seventh was divorced. The eighth left her husband after two years. These are not exceptions. Only one of the twenty-two married prostitutes in the Brussels case-sheets was still living with her husband and she was married to a *souteneur*; three were widows; the rest were divorced or separated or had been deserted. Three out of twenty-seven married women in the United States list were still living with their husbands; seventeen out of sixty-nine in the French list; one out of six in the Roumanian list; none in the lists from Danzig, Hungary, Poland or Turkey.

But these figures cannot really represent the proportion of women who, having once been prostitutes, later make successful marriages. Marriage must afford an escape for many among the thousands who find their way every year out of the shifting population of prostitutes. The experience of social workers and rehabilitation homes testifies to the successful marriages of women who have passed through their hands. But these successes have escaped record because the case-sheets for this report describe women who were still prostitutes at the time of the enquiry. To discover the real proportion of successes and failures in

marriage, it would be necessary to take a certain number of women and follow their career during and after prostitution.

The interest of these marriage histories does not therefore reside so much in the percentage of failures they contain as in the connection which they might reveal or fail to reveal between unsuccessful marriages and prostitution. This is not a problem for statistical treatment, and it is one to which only a person with an intimate knowledge of individual cases could give a satisfactory answer. Still, there are some points of interest in the material available.

All the United States and some of the French and Belgian case-sheets state whether prostitution preceded or followed marriage. They show that most of the women did not become prostitutes before the breakdown of their marriages, although some had led rather promiscuous or dissolute lives. Of the twenty-seven married women in the United States list, three said they had been prostitutes before, five during, marriage. One of the latter, whose husband had died after they had been married three years, said she left him several times "to run around with the girls and have a good time", but always returned. Another had been induced by her husband to prostitute herself "until times got better". Of the fifteen married women in the lists from Lyons and Var, only two were prostitutes before marriage. The proportion is higher in the Belgian list; eight out of nineteen are said to have been prostitutes both before and after marriage. The other eleven only became prostitutes after their marriages had come to an end, although some had had illegitimate children before they were married.

Should it be assumed that, when the breakdown of the marriage preceded prostitution, it was also necessarily its cause? Sometimes it has clearly been a contributory cause, particularly when it has added to the woman's difficulties by leaving her with small children. Two cases can be

quoted as examples. The first is from the Brussels case-sheets :

A factory worker until she was 18. Married a workman and had two children. Her husband deserted her and she went back to the factory, leaving the children with her parents. Having no work, she came to Brussels and took a job as a servant. Both her father and her brothers became unemployed. She began to prostitute herself four years ago, since she did not make enough to pay for the keep of her children.

The second case is from the United States list :

She married her first husband at 15. He was killed in an accident when she was 20. She married her second husband at 27; they lived together two years. He treated her badly, so she left him. She says she became a prostitute because she was out of work and had to make money to support her daughter and herself. She got work after her first conviction but she could not live on the salary (5 dollars per week).

But there are also life histories in which it does not seem justifiable to assume that the breakdown of a marriage was greatly responsible for the woman's subsequent career. To an outside observer, it appears that both the marriage failure and prostitution are accounted for by the temperament of the individual. The following is taken from the United States case-sheets :

She was married at 18 to a stevedore aged 24. Separated after six months. One child, male, not living. She began to prostitute herself when she was 29, because she needed money. Her women friends were prostitutes and "showed her the ropes". She had led a dissolute life since she was 22.

And the next from the Lyons case-sheets :

She married at 17 a State employee twenty years older than she. She lived in a colony, was comfortably off and had five children, three of whom died young. She was bored by her life in the colony because there were no dances. During a holiday in France, she left her husband and children and entered a brothel. She divorced her husband; her children are brought up by an

aunt. Dancing seems to be the one passion of her life. She does not like work. She has now been a prostitute for several years.

In both these cases, and there are others like them, marriage does not seem to have vitally affected the issue. Often, as in the American story, it seems to have been simply an episode, too short to have profoundly altered either partner.

The Indian life stories suggest that prostitution is more often the direct result of an unsuccessful marriage or the death of a husband in India than in the West. There appear to be two reasons for this. First is the continuance among large sections of the Hindu community of a tradition forbidding the remarriage of widows. Girls are often married when they are very young to men much older than themselves, and many are left widows before they are grown up. Their life may then be a hard one; they are liable to be treated harshly both by their own and their husband's family and expected to lead lives of extreme self-denial. In 1927, an Indian speaker in the Legislative Assembly described the life of Hindu widowhood as one of "agony, pains, suffering and austerity. It is a life which has been inflicted not so much by Providence, not so much by the Shastras, as by social customs."¹ In the second place, although several million women are employed in industry, commerce and domestic service, the great majority of Indian women work in their own homes or on their own fields. If they are left destitute, they may find work as cultivators, but the opportunities for young women living in towns to find employment outside their homes are smaller than in the West.

Five of the nine Indian provinces which replied mentioned domestic unhappiness or the disadvantages of widowhood

¹ Kumar Garganand Sinha. *Legislative Assembly Debates*. September 15th, 1927.

as a cause of prostitution. Thirty-eight of the hundred women in the Bengal and Bombay lists were widows; sometimes their husbands had died while they were still children. The following—the first from Bengal, the second from Bombay—are two typical stories :

D., aged about 23 years. . . . She was married in her childhood. Her husband died when she was aged about 12 years. She used to live with her parents, who also died within a margin of six months when she became 15. Finding it difficult to obtain her livelihood by honest means, she came down to Calcutta and became a woman of the town.

I was born in Bombay. I was married to a man whose name I do not know, when I was too young. My husband died after my marriage. About ten years ago, I started my life as a prostitute of my own accord, as I had no support from anybody. I have no relative.

Many of the women who were not widows had been deserted or turned out by their husbands or had run away because they were cruelly treated. The following are examples :

I am aged 21 years and live with my mother, who is also a prostitute. I was married to the son of a prostitute at the age of 9 years at Hooghly. My husband used to torture and ill treat-me. I therefore left his house and came to my mother and became a prostitute. I am quite happy. (Bengal.)

My father died when I was aged about 9 years. My mother went with me to Poona soon after my father's death. She was working as a menial servant with a Parsi gentleman at Poona, and then came to Bombay. I was married when I was very young. I never went to my husband's place, as he married another wife and did not want me. While at Poona, one R. kept me as his mistress for four years. After his death, I started to earn by prostitution.

Left school at the age of 14 to marry a widower aged 45. Was ill-treated by her husband and eventually seduced by her husband's brother. This was when she was aged 18. She was then driven out of the house by her husband and, failing to receive support from her seducer, was given shelter by a woman who suggested to her that she should take up the life of prostitution. She then went to Calcutta and entered a brothel.

Of course widowhood, cruelty or desertion were rarely the sole cause of prostitution. Seduction, the activities of procurers, bad company and a roving disposition also play their part.

To conclude, a third of the prostitutes described in the case-sheets have married. Many married early and few were happily married. These are the only certainties. Without a far more detailed study, it is impossible to say how often unsuccessful marriage helped to induce these women to become prostitutes. Nevertheless, although in the Indian replies prostitution often appears to have been caused partly by the failure or the termination of a marriage, the present evidence seems to show that in the West this cause does not operate nearly so powerfully nor so frequently as bad upbringing, poverty, laziness or love of luxury.

LEGITIMACY.

In the last century, it was generally supposed that the disadvantages of illegitimacy induced many illegitimate girls and foundlings to become prostitutes. Duchâtelet's study of prostitution in Paris in 1836 may be quoted in support of this theory. It showed that in most of the Paris arrondissements, a quarter of the registered prostitutes were illegitimate, although the proportion was much lower in the provinces. Since then, in most countries, changes in public opinion, legislation and the social services have made illegitimacy a much lighter handicap. It is therefore natural to expect that to-day fewer illegitimate children become prostitutes and, on the whole, the case-sheets bear out this assumption, though, as the investigators had to rely on the evidence given by the women themselves, the figures cannot be accepted unreservedly.

In nine ¹ of the fifteen lists which answer this question,

¹ From Belgium, the United Kingdom, Canada, Chile, the United States, France, Hungary, Poland and Switzerland.

the percentage of illegitimate children does not exceed 7. In eight of these nine, in fact, the rate is approximately the same as for the country as a whole.¹ Occasionally—in the Chilian, United States and Hungarian lists, for example—it is even lower.

The lists from Denmark, Norway and Czechoslovakia show percentages ranging from 14 to 17 and rather higher than the national averages. In the three Indian lists—all of which do not give complete information on this point—the variations are considerable. Whereas in Bengal and Bombay only about 6% to 10% of the children seem to have been illegitimate, the figure for the United Provinces is 28%. This is explained by a paragraph in the reply stating that among the women of one caste living in this province, prostitution is very largely a hereditary occupation. Nearly all the illegitimate children in the list were the daughters of prostitutes belonging to this caste. The two highest rates are found in the Roumanian and Turkish answers. Of the thirty women examined by an anti-venereal clinic in Roumania, twelve were illegitimate. This surprisingly high figure contrasts, not only with the other European lists, but also with the other Roumanian list² in which 11% of the women were illegitimate. The average age in these two lists was about the same, and there is no apparent reason for such a great divergence. The Turkish answer shows that of the fifty prostitutes examined in Ankara, 70% were illegitimate.

MENTAL CAPACITY AND CHARACTERISTICS.

Taking all the case-sheets together, 1,207 out of 1,858 women—*i.e.*, two-thirds—were considered to be average, or above the average, in intelligence. The remainder were

¹ The national figures for the years 1927-1935 have been used for comparison.

² Fifty-three case-sheets sent by the International Federation for Aid to Young Women.

described as below normal, dull normal, sub-normal, of low or limited intelligence or as border-line cases. Only 4% were classed as feeble-minded or abnormal.¹ But the wide variations between the lists deprive a general statement or a comparison of much of its value, since they prove that the examiners had very different standards in mind. Legislation, custom and character may differ from country to country and variations in the answers to other questions may reflect these differences, but it is hard to believe that mental ability is distributed as unequally as the case-sheets suggest; that, for example, by the same standards, the percentage of prostitutes under average in intelligence was twenty times as great in the Italian as in the Roumanian list, or that the official at the police prefecture who, out of fifty Parisian prostitutes, found only fourteen of average intelligence, would have agreed that the percentage was three times as high at St. Etienne.

Besides different standards, a cause of divergences lies in the unequal facilities which the investigators had for their enquiries. Women in prisons and homes can be observed and questioned by a trained psychiatrist over a long period of time. In other cases, an impression of mental capacity may have had to be gathered by a brief interview with a police-official with whom the woman was not at her ease. There is also the fact that an examination made by a police-official after a raid would probably yield a different result from an examination carried out in a home

¹ A great many terms were used by the investigators to describe cases of sub-normal or abnormal intelligence. To simplify comparison, in the report a standard set of terms has been adopted—viz., superior intelligence, normal intelligence, below normal, border-line, abnormal and feeble-minded. All the cases described were fitted into one or other of these categories. Thus "below normal" includes cases described as dull normal or sub-normal; "feeble-minded" includes those described as lunatic, imbecile or mentally defective. The term "certifiable" used in the questionnaire was discarded as varying in meaning from country to country and from year to year.

where the woman had been for a week or so. Yet another cause of variations may lie in the differences of average age of the women in each list. There is as yet no proof of the effect of long years of prostitution on mental capacity, but it is interesting that of the five lists which show the lowest mental average, three were those for which the tests had been most thorough, but the other two were among the lists with the highest average age.

The lists with the greatest number of sub-normal or abnormal cases are those from Danzig, Denmark, the United States, Italy and Switzerland. In these five, the percentage of women classed as average in intelligence ranges from 18% to 50%. In all the other lists, cases of "normal intelligence" greatly predominate. In fact, the investigators in Roumania, Uruguay, Bombay and Norway described nearly all the women as mentally normal. The United Kingdom analysis remarks: "It is a matter of some surprise that so many of the women have been considered to be of normal or superior intelligence." The report of the women's international organisations in India supports the figures in the Bombay case-sheets by stating that the majority of the prostitutes cannot be said to be defective; "they are simply neither developed nor educated. Sometimes, however, they are intelligent girls."

Three answers—from the United States, Denmark and Switzerland—treat this question more fully than the rest, and two of them show that elaborate intelligence tests were applied. In the United States list, only seventeen out of the fifty women were found to be average or superior in intelligence; nine were dull normal; eleven, border-line cases; and thirteen, feeble-minded. In all, two-thirds were considered to be below normal (*i.e.*, their intelligence quotient was less than 90%). A wider survey, made by the same authorities, produced an even lower average. Dr. Kemp's investigations in Copenhagen resulted in half the women examined being classed as average and the other

half (all whose intelligence quotient was under 90%) as slightly retarded, retarded, debile or imbecile. Whereas 20% of the population of Denmark is reckoned to be below average, in his material this was true of 50%. No special tests seem to have been applied to the women in the Swiss list, but a good many of them had been under supervision in homes, and this may be the reason why the description of their mental powers is rather fuller than in the other answers. As superior in intelligence were classed 12%, about 25% as normal, 46% as limited in intelligence, and 15% as feeble-minded; 60% altogether were considered below normal. Therefore, in all these answers, considerably fewer women were classed as averagely intelligent than in the case-sheets as a whole.

Besides discussing the woman's mental level, some of the case-sheets add a comment on her character. The adjectives which recur most frequently are : nervous, hysterical, excitable; lacking in self-confidence, given to worry; weak and unbalanced; lazy; lying and deceitful; apathetic, listless, very slow; headstrong, defiant, irascible, violent; very reserved and introverted; lacking in moral sense; lacking in affection.

The laziness with which many women are charged seems to be in part innate, in part acquired by a long divorce from work. The Hungarian case-sheets are particularly full of remarks such as : she does not want to work, she says she hates all sort of work, she never learnt to work, she says she never worked in her life. On this point, Dr. Kemp's observations are interesting. Among the 530 women whose lives he investigated, he found that 20% of those whose capacity for work was not diminished by physical infirmity displayed aversion to work, and he adds : " Call it laziness if you want to, but it may, nevertheless, be regarded as due to a mental condition."

The life histories of the prostitutes sometimes reveal two characteristics not specifically mentioned by the examiners :

they are a roving or adventurous disposition and an impatience of restraint and discipline. Of the fifty women in the United States list, eight had run away from home, and so had six out of fifty Polish prostitutes. Several of the Hungarian women were said to have been vagabonds from their childhood; several women in the French case-sheets said they left home to be independent. Sometimes unkindness or excessive strictness at home prompted them to leave, but this was not always so. A French prostitute said her home was like everybody else's; she just wanted to be free. A woman in the United States list said she had no grudge against the family: "I just wanted to go away." One of the Indian prostitutes said: "I was married at the age of 7. . . . I spent six years in my husband's house. A kirtanwalli (woman musician) came to our village and I heard her music and became very enchanted. I became eager to be a kirtanwalli. One morning, I left my husband's house and came to my brother-in-law's house in another neighbouring village. I remained there for about a month or so, when I became corrupted with a railway employee. I fled away with him to Hooghly. Here I learnt music."

Some additional light is thrown on the mental characteristics of these women by the number who indulged excessively in alcohol or drugs. Of the British prostitutes, 14% had been arrested for drunkenness, many twenty or thirty times. A quarter of the prostitutes in the United States list took drugs (heroin, morphine, opium) and more than a third drank regularly. Of the Hungarian prostitutes, 20% said they were fond of drink. Dr. Kemp found that a quarter of the women examined had drunk excessively over short or long periods; 3% showed severe chronic alcoholism, and a few addiction to narcotic drugs.

A study of the case-sheets makes two general impressions. First, if more elaborate tests could have been universally applied, more women might have been found slightly mentally defective or abnormal. Secondly, most mental

defects were only a contributory cause of prostitution; their importance increases through combination with other causes. Many women might have led different lives if good fortune had been on their side, but they were mentally or temperamentally unsuited to surmount difficulties. But impressions of psychology derived from a purely written contact with the material are obviously of limited value; it is interesting to read Dr. Kemp's summing up of his thorough and largely personal examination of 530 prostitutes. He writes :

“ When making psychiatric examinations on, and questioning, a group of women, such as those now under consideration, one cannot help getting a general impression of the mental *habitus* of the whole group. If we exclude the few exceptions which only serve to prove the rule, the general impression can only be described as monochrome. The group consists of comparatively poorly equipped individuals, the course of whose lives was usually predestined and earthbound—not interesting, not thrilling, not romantic, but sad, colourless and deserving of pity.”

VENEREAL DISEASE.

The case-sheets from four countries included a question on venereal disease. In the Argentinian list, six out of twenty-five women were known to have venereal disease; in the other cases, there was no information. In the Hungarian list, thirteen women out of forty-seven admitted that they had, or had had, venereal disease. The other lists give more details. Of fifty Polish prostitutes, four said that they had been infected before they had prostituted themselves; forty-three said they were infected since; three within a few days of going on the streets; thirty-nine altogether within a year. Three said they had never been infected. Out of 150 Turkish prostitutes, 118 were said

to have had venereal disease. Five said they had been infected before becoming prostitutes, ninety-two after; in twenty-one cases, there was no information. The Istanbul case-sheets give the date at which the disease was first contracted; of the fifty women, seventeen had been infected within a year of beginning prostitution.

Among the women examined by Dr. Kemp, 430 were recognised prostitutes. Of these, three-quarters were known to have suffered from venereal disease at one time or another; 32% had had both syphilis and gonorrhea, 24% gonorrhea only, and 21% syphilis only.

Some idea of the prevalence of venereal disease among prostitutes may be gathered from another part of this report,¹ which shows that in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the rehabilitation institutes obtain most of their patients through venereal-disease clinics. The authorities assume that sooner or later every prostitute will be infected and will be sent on to a rehabilitation institute.

HOME CONDITIONS.

Many writers on prostitution have remarked that prostitutes resemble one another in character, and this has led them to speculate whether certain temperaments do not predispose women to choose or drift into this vocation. The opposite opinion, "that the personality of the prostitute is the result rather than the reason of her occupation", has also been upheld, but, on the whole, judgment and experience support the theory that particular inherited and acquired characteristics form one, at any rate, of the reasons for prostitution, and that therefore heredity and upbringing must play their part. To go deeply into the problem of heredity would be impossible without a full psychological description of the prostitutes themselves, their ascendants and relatives; this the questionnaire was not suited or

¹ "Social Services and Venereal Disease", League of Nations Publications, 1938.IV.1.

intended to supply. What the case-sheets often do provide, however, is information about the material and moral surroundings in which these women spent their childhood.

Usually only a small minority suffered from extreme poverty. Dr. Kemp found that 42% of the women he examined came from very poor homes, but in the nine other answers which give information on this point, the number of homes described as very poor is on an average only 9%. The figure is highest in the Polish list (16%) and lowest in the Belgian list (5%). Nevertheless, though indigence may be the exception, few of the women started life with any material advantages. Their employment record, the age at which they started working, their father's occupation, all point to the conclusion that the majority came from poor, working-class families.

Three-quarters of the women in the Uruguayan list were said to come from poor homes, two-thirds in the Chilean list. Forty-six of the fifty women in the United States list had had employment; twenty-one started working at 15 or younger, one at 10, three at 12. More than half the women in the Czechoslovak case-sheets had left home before they were 16. Five had gone into service at the age of 14.

Seven answers give the father's occupation. Exact classification is difficult, particularly as standards vary from country to country, but the proportion of non-working-class men appears to vary between a sixth and a third. It is highest in Belgium (about 35%) and lowest in Italy (about 15%). Of twenty-eight Norwegian prostitutes, three-quarters were the daughters of unskilled workmen, artisans or peasant farmers. Four of the remainder were the daughters of small proprietors, two of non-commissioned officers. Of the women examined by Dr. Kemp, two-thirds were the daughters of unskilled or skilled labourers. In the Polish list, out of the sixty-four fathers whose occupations were known, forty-seven were unskilled or skilled workmen; four were smallholders. The remaining

thirteen were middle-class men; three civil servants, one a factory manager. Fourteen out of nineteen prostitutes in an English prison were from working-class homes; most of their fathers were miners or labourers.

Those who were not from working-class families came from the lower middle-classes. Their fathers were tradesmen, office workers, restaurant keepers, State employees, small business men. A few girls came from upper middle-class homes, but they are rare exceptions.

It is interesting to compare these figures with Flexner's account of the pre-war situation. He wrote: "The most striking fact in connection with the source of supply is its practically total derivation from the lower working-classes", and supported this assertion by statistics from England, Germany and Sweden. Nowhere did he find the proportion of non-working-class homes higher than 10%, a considerably smaller fraction, that is to say, than in the present case-sheets. Since the two investigations are not on the same scale (Flexner was considering much larger figures), the difference may not represent a corresponding shift in the incidence of prostitution from one stratum of society to another. But other reasons do suggest that such a shift may well have happened. The blotting-out of savings and investments which occurred in several European countries after the war was more disastrous for the middle-class than for any other. A later section will show how often a sudden change in economic circumstances preceded prostitution; in the years from 1918 to 1923, families which for decades had been in easy circumstances were faced with starvation.

To turn from the material to the moral environment, the case-sheets show that in a small percentage of cases the children grew up in an atmosphere of cruelty, neglect, drunkenness or vice. The following are illustrations:

Her father died when she was 10. Both her parents drank and used to quarrel violently. Her mother was known to be

immoral and was always asking her daughters for money. Both daughters are prostitutes. (Isère, France.)

She lived with her family till she was 8. Then she was sent to work as a nursery maid. When she was 14, her employer seduced her and she went on the streets. Her parents took no thought or care for her. (Hungary.)

She said that her home was very poor. Her father was a fireman in a tobacco factory but he drank to such excess he could not keep a job. He was bad-tempered and used to beat her. (United States.)

Adopted when she was 6 months old. Her adoptive father seduced her when she was 9 and was sentenced to five years of imprisonment. At 19, she was turned out of the house and went to live with an aunt who kept her for two years and then sent her away. (Roumania.)

L.'s father was a house decorator, who had several illegitimate children. He left his wife and lived with his mistress, who ill-treated the children. At the age of 14, L. was sent to a reformatory for stealing a pair of slippers. (Belgium.)

Such homes must exert a harmful influence on children. But, like the examples of extreme poverty, they are in the minority. Far more striking than the number of homes whose influence was unquestionably bad is the number which seem to have been defective, unsuitable or unhappy.

An extraordinarily high percentage of the women were not brought up by their parents or by only one parent. Apart from the small percentage who were illegitimate, in most of the lists between one-fifth and one-third had lost one parent through death or separation while they were still young. In addition, the percentage brought up in institutions, by foster-parents or relatives, is 20% or more in four lists, and over 10% in thirteen ¹ of the sixteen lists

¹ Denmark, 33%; Hungary, 26%; France (women's international organisations), 24%; United States of America, 21%; Czechoslovakia, 19%; Roumania (International Federation of Friends to Young Women), 19%; Poland, 18%; Danzig, 17%; Belgium, 16%; Norway, 14%; United Kingdom, 13%; Argentine, 12%; Canada, 12%.

which give information on this point. Speaking of the girls brought up in orphanages, the French memorandum observes: "To live in confinement quite out of touch with life and then to be left alone in a dangerous environment of which they know nothing is particularly harmful to many girls." Dr. Tage Kemp discovered that one-third of the women he examined were not brought up at home but spent their childhood under troubled and shifting conditions:

"3% were brought up by the grandparents or other close relatives; an additional 3% were boarded-out or sent to homes, and the remaining 27% were raised under combined conditions—now in a infants' home or almshouse, now in an institution for the feeble-minded or hospital for epileptics. Possibly they were at home for a short time or with near relatives. Sometimes they had three or four different foster-homes during the course of their childhood."

There seems often to have been friction or misunderstandings in the family. The parents quarrelled, or the two generations were temperamentally unsuited; sometimes the children complain that the parents were unkind or too strict, sometimes the investigators remark that the parents treated their children stupidly or had no control over them. About a third of the women in the United States list were ill-adjusted to their family or had parents who were unhappily married. Here are four examples:

Her mother died of tuberculosis when she was 6. At 13, she kept house for the family. Her father was "too strict; would not allow dances or anything". She ran away at 16 to join a State fair. She got on well with her brothers and sisters.

S. was the youngest of a family of 8. Her father, who died when she was 9, was cruel to his wife. She, a religious and good woman, left him and gave the two eldest children to a neglectful grandmother. When the younger died, she returned to her husband. S. found her parents "too strict". Her mother had her committed to the House of Good Shepherd at 14 for "running around". She hated her brothers and sisters. She lived with a brother

after her mother's death when she was 14, but she ran away at 15 with a man aged 55.

Her father died when she was 2. She got on badly with her mother and quarrelled continuously with her brothers and sisters. Her mother was strict and extremely religious. At 12, she ran away after a beating because she had refused to attend school. She was found and returned, but at 17 she was sent to New York to work and live with an elder sister. She led a loose life and had had sexual intercourse before she was 15.

Family respectable and hard-working, but father ill-tempered and strict. He did not understand the problems of his headstrong argumentative daughter, with the result that she ran away at 17. She quarrelled with her brothers and sisters. The examiner adds that she had been spoilt by a weak over-indulgent mother and forcibly restrained by a stern ill-tempered father.

The next is from the Manchester case-sheets :

The father, a fruit hawker, lazy and boastful, has never faced family responsibilities. Two of his boys, while still at school, were brought before the juvenile court for trespassing, warehouse-breaking and stealing. The probation officer making this report knows the home very well and is of the opinion that the father is largely responsible for the behaviour of his family. The mother has been ill for years and is completely dominated by her husband. She has no will-power or initiative.

The next from Belgium :

She left home when she was 12 to be a nursery maid; she had a delicate younger sister who was her mother's favourite, and when she returned home her mother complained constantly that she did not earn enough money. After a series of quarrels, she ran away with a lover.

Of the nineteen British prostitutes whose lives were investigated by the Jewish Association, fourteen had had an unhappy childhood; two had no proper home life; four had parents who were unhappily married; three did not get on with their parents or step-parents; three had parents who had no control over them; one was a difficult child wrongly handled by her parents; one said she " had nothing

to lose, as her mother was very harsh and accused her of being a prostitute when she came home late". Eight out of the fifty-three women in one Roumanian list said that they left home because of quarrels or unkindness. Of the twenty-six women in the Czechoslovak list, one had left home because of family quarrels, two mentioned quarrels with their step-mothers, one said she could not get on with her mother.

Quarrels and disagreements at home seem often to have centred round step-parents. One of twelve prostitutes in the list from Isère (France) said she left home because her step-father ill-treated her, another because her step-mother made life impossible for her. Four women in the list of seventy from another French department left home when their mother or father remarried; three said because of quarrels with their step-parents. One Roumanian prostitute said she left home because of her step-father; two, because their step-mothers were unkind to them; two more left home soon after their parents remarried. Dr. Kemp found that, "in many cases, the *propositæ* had step-mothers or step-fathers at an early age". In a later chapter, he writes: "In many cases, there is no doubt that an uncomprehending, unkind step-father or step-mother has driven an already unresistant child to prostitution. Time after time the *propositæ* described how during puberty or other difficult periods of transition they lacked the necessary support and firmness at home. . . . In cases like this, it was rather often the step-fathers or step-mothers who were to blame."

A point suggested by these quotations and also by other data is that several of the women had been difficult children and had not found their relationship with other people easy. Asked why they left school, nine of the fifty American prostitutes replied "because they were not liked". Of the women in the United Kingdom list, 15% had been in Home Office approved schools for delinquent or neglected

children. In other lists, several of the children had been in reformatories.

In a few cases, there was a mention of drunkenness or insanity in the family. In the Netherlands analysis 10% and in the Italian list 6% of the parents were drink addicts. Other European lists show percentages varying from 1% to 6%. In the United States list, nine fathers out of fifty were said to be alcoholic. Two Italian prostitutes had parents in lunatic asylums; two Belgian women had mentally abnormal brothers. Dr. Kemp, who was particularly interested in hereditary factors, found that 18.6% of the women's fathers were drunkards, 0.8% were insane; 4.4% of the mothers were insane.

One other interesting point is raised by the information in the case-sheets: the size of the family. In the five answers which give this information, there seems to be an unusual number of large families. About a quarter of the women in the lists from Belgium and the United States, and a fifth in the lists from Norway and Hungary, came from families with six or more children; one was from a family of sixteen children, several from families with twelve or thirteen. Dr. Kemp found that the women he examined had on an average five or six brothers and sisters.

To sum up, the general impression of the homes and childhood of the women described in the case-sheets is that their moral environment was less favourable than their material environment. It is true that only a minority appear to have had parents who were comfortably off, but the majority came from ordinary working-class families and only a small percentage from the most poverty-stricken section of the community. The moral atmosphere in which the children grew up was on occasion actively harmful; far more often though, it was simply defective or unsuitable. This was due sometimes to neglect or lack of control, sometimes to excessive strictness. Often the homes were troubled by disagreement between the parents or between

the parents and children; this occurred frequently when there was a step-parent.

A considerable fraction of the women were brought up in homes, by relatives or by strangers, and many more were brought up by only one parent. About 45%, in fact, said that they had lost one or both parents before they were 14. This does not necessarily mean, of course, that they were all neglected; some, indeed, are said to have had good homes, but a feature that recurs so constantly cannot be disregarded.

Considering the case-sheets as a whole, about a third of the women appear to have had good homes and to have been brought up by both parents, and about half spent their childhood in unfavourable circumstances. This was due in part to poverty and ill-treatment, more often to unhappiness and wrong-handling.

EDUCATION.

The percentage of illiterates ¹ is considerable in only seven of the twenty-one lists which give data on education. In four of these seven—the lists from Chile, Italy, Roumania and Uruguay—between a third and a fifth of the women appear to have been quite uneducated or only to have been to school for a few months. A comparison with the latest census returns shows that the proportion corresponds roughly with the figure for the adult population for each country as a whole, so that the educational level of the prostitutes cannot be considered below average. In the Argentinian list also, a third of the prostitutes were illiterate, but all the illiterate women were Poles or Russians. In the two lists from Turkey and India, the majority of the

¹ In reading both the statistics of illiteracy and those which will be quoted later to show the number of children who did not complete their schooling, it must be remembered that some of the women were of school age in the disorganised period of the war and early post-war years. In the European answers, therefore, the figures of illiteracy and uncompleted education are probably higher than they would be among similar children to-day.

women were illiterate. The level of education among the prostitutes in the Ankara case-sheets seems to be comparatively low; 30% of the women had had a primary education (6% more had been to school a little), whereas in 1934 the Minister of Education estimated that 45% of the adult population were able to read and write. On the other hand, in the Indian lists the level of education is surprisingly high when compared both with national figures and with the short account sent by the women's international organisations, which state that 499 out of 500 prostitutes in India have no education at all. Assuming that permanent literacy is acquired by schooling for four years, 10% of the Bombay prostitutes were literate, whereas in 1921 ¹ 2.5% of all the women in the province were estimated to be literate. At least one out of fifty Bengal prostitutes was literate compared to a level of 1.8% literates among the women in the province in 1921.¹ The replies from these two provinces also reflect one of the great difficulties of education in India: the enormous drop in the number of pupils from the first class to the second, the second to the third and so on. One of the Bengal prostitutes had attended school for four years, while eight had attended for periods ranging from three months to three years.

In all the remaining lists the overwhelming majority of the women had been to elementary schools and some of those who had not were taught at home. But relatively few received more than an elementary education: only 8% of all the women had been to secondary or technical schools, and in nearly every list the figure is lower than the national average. By far the highest percentage is found in the United States case-sheets, in which twenty-one out of fifty women had had more than elementary schooling; twenty had been to high schools and five had followed technical courses. But even this group had less education

¹ Interim report of the Indian Statutory Commission, 1929, page 145.

than average American girls, since it is estimated that more than half the total population attend secondary schools. The proportion who had secondary or technical education is also high in the answers from Belgium (20%), Chile (18%), Roumania (17%), Czechoslovakia and the United Kingdom.

The most striking fact about the education statistics is the number of women who did not attend school for the period fixed by law; 30% appear to have left school before the fixed leaving-age, but there is great variation between the lists on this point. The percentage is highest (60% to 87%) in four of the answers with a large proportion of illiterates—*i.e.*, from Roumania, Uruguay, Italy and Chile. It is lowest in the answers from Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and the United Kingdom, where it does not rise above 5%. It may be suspected that the figure is unusually high, but this cannot be proved, since comparable figures for the whole population are difficult to obtain. In any case, the school-leaving age may be misleading unless it is supplemented by information on the grade the child had reached.

EMPLOYMENT.

Taking all the case-sheets together, of 2,519 women, 47% had been first employed or mainly employed as domestic servants.¹ If those who had never worked or whose employment was not known are subtracted from the total, the percentage is raised to 56. Next in importance after domestic service comes industrial work : 12% of the employed women had worked in factories or workshops; 8% had been dressmakers, milliners or needlewomen, or apprentices in these trades; 6% had been saleswomen or errand girls; 6%, waitresses. Other occupations in order of decreasing importance are clerical work (2%), farm

¹ This term has been taken to include day-workers, hotel chambermaids and servants in restaurants as well as indoor servants.

work (2%), work in the entertainment trades—chorus girls, singers, ballet dancers, dancing partners—and as artists' models (2%), laundry work (1%), nursing and hospital work (1%), hairdressing and manicuring (1%). A few women had been teachers or governesses; one said she was an author; one or two were called "State employees"; one was a tramway conductor; two were hawkers.¹

The great majority of the women, in most lists four-fifths or more, had been wage-earners. In the Argentinian list, however, the proportion may have been lower, as the occupation of many of the women was not known. In the Indian and Turkish lists, contrary to the general rule, just over a quarter and just over a half of the women had been employed. Although it is not always stated in the answers, probably most of the women who said they had never been employed had, in fact, worked in their homes or on their parents' land.

The proportion of domestic servants is fairly stable throughout, only falling below one-third in five out of twenty-two lists. But, apart from this, there are considerable variations between the answers. Switzerland, Belgium, Italy and France show the highest proportion of industrial workers. Roughly a quarter of the employed women in these four lists had worked in factories or workshops, many of them in textile-mills or clothing factories. The number of waitresses is highest in the answers from the United States, the Netherlands and Norway, in which waitresses and barmaids constitute between a fifth and a seventh of the total. In the case-sheets sent by the Jewish Association in the United Kingdom, fourteen out of nineteen women had been employed in dressmaking or tailoring,

¹ The figures in the Japanese reply to the questionnaire (which only gave information on employment) are not included in the percentages given above. They show that of 651 prostitutes questioned in 1933, more than half had been barmaids or waitresses, 7% had been geishas. The complete figures are given in Part II.

a far higher percentage than in any other list. The proportion of domestic servants is particularly high (60% or more) in the answers from Denmark, Canada, Turkey, Czechoslovakia and India.

A feature common to many lists is the instability which characterises the employment records. One of the women in the Belgian list started work in an umbrella-factory in Belgium, then changed to factory work in Paris; she next became a laundress, then a plumassier, then a children's maid, and finally worked in a munitions factory. A girl of 18 in the United States list had held three posts since she started working. The first was a domestic servant's place which she left after a week because her employer was "hard to get along with". The second she left after five days. The third was a nursemaid's place at 25 dollars a month. She left after one and a half days, because the children refused to obey and called her names. Altogether, a third of the women in this list changed their place or their occupation frequently or had irregular employment. In the United Kingdom and Canadian case-sheets, the percentage is about half. Eight of the twenty-six Czechoslovak prostitutes were said to have changed their employment frequently, and so were twenty-eight of the fifty women examined by the Paris prefecture of police. Eighteen of the eighty-seven employed women in the Polish list were known to have changed frequently. On the other hand, in every list some women had worked steadily for years in the same occupation; sometimes, in fact, they had only had one post. Quite often those who later became unsettled workers had kept their first job for some time.

The numbers in the case-sheets are too small to allow of a precise comparison, but it is interesting to try to discover whether the proportion of workers in each occupation corresponds roughly to the proportion in the national employment figures. A comparison with the latest census returns shows that the variations between the lists do

partly correspond to differences in national economy. For instance, the percentage of industrial workers was highest in the lists from Switzerland, Belgium, France and Italy, and these four are among the countries which have the greatest proportion of women employed in industry. The percentage of women in service is roughly twice as high in Canada as in the United States, and the percentage in the case-sheets was also roughly twice as high. Of all the countries covered by the report, Denmark has the highest proportion of women engaged in domestic service. It also had the highest proportion in the case-sheets. Even local differences are sometimes reflected in the answers, as is shown by the list sent from the United Kingdom by the Jewish Association. A large proportion of the Jews in London work in the tailoring and dressmaking trades, and fourteen of the nineteen women had worked in these trades.

But, although the figures for each occupation seem to rise and fall partly in accordance with national differences, some occupations are consistently or frequently over-represented. This is particularly true of domestic service. The percentage in the case-sheets is always higher than in the census returns, often considerably higher. The percentage of servants in the United Kingdom case-sheets was 53¹; in the census, 26%; in the French case-sheets, 24%; in the census, 7%; in the Netherlands list, 56%; in the census, 31%; in the Canadian list, 77%; in the census, 24%; in the Italian list, 14%; in the census, 12%; and so on. There is the same over-representation of occupations in the entertainment trades, although these only constituted a small percentage of the case-sheets. For example, 4% of the women in the United States case-sheets were in theatrical work compared to 0.2% of the total women employed. Of the Netherlands prostitutes, 4% had been in artistic or semi-artistic professions which only absorbed

¹ This figure and those which follow are percentages of the number of *employed* women in each list.

0.3% of all employed women. On the other hand, agriculture, industry and professional work are under-represented throughout.

Two striking facts emerge from a study of the employment figures. The first is the predominance of employment which is either unskilled or unorganised or both. Few of the women had any professional training. In any case, therefore, their earning power was likely to be low, and this likelihood is increased for the large numbers in occupations where they were not protected by a labour code nor strengthened by a trade union. The working conditions of servants, laundresses, shop-assistants and sewing-hands may not, of course, be bad in general, but they are greatly dependent on the employer. Girls with no special training or advantages, or with any natural handicap, slip easily into the inferior positions with low pay and long hours.

The second and perhaps the most striking fact is the large number of domestic servants. This is, of course, partly explained by the fact that working-class girls with no vocational training find their easiest openings for employment in service. At the same time, in most countries the competition for posts is not nearly so great in household work as in industry or trade, with the result that women who are too inadequately equipped to find other work become servants. But other causes lie in the nature of the work itself. A factory worker or shop-girl may live at home, but domestic servants, who often begin work at 16 or younger, go to live with strangers often in a strange district, where their actions are unknown to their family and friends. They are in constant association with people whose standard of living is more luxurious than their own. They have no fixed working-hours and they are often at a loss how and where to spend their spare time. They do not have the companionship which factory or office workers enjoy and this, coupled with separation from their family, makes their life a lonely one and throws them very much on their own

resources. Their happiness depends on good personal relations, so that adaptability and evenness of temper are a far greater asset than in other work. Every woman is not suited to employment under these conditions. Further, in inferior posts, the domestic servant also suffers from overwork, low wages, bad food and bad accommodation. Dr. Kemp writes of servant girls who said they had to work from morning to night and even then they earned so little that in their few spare hours they could not afford to pay for any amusement. It is into posts of this kind that women who are mentally dull, restless or moody easily drift. For, as Dr. Kemp adds :

“ A perfectly well-equipped and intelligent woman can get along excellently in domestic posts, but for those who are in some way or other handicapped it is not so easy. Frequently, they give up their positions without notice and are thus unable to secure references. Sometimes because of general incompetence, they are unable to get or keep the better type of situation where working conditions are endurable and the salary fairly good.”

The result for the less fortunate is a growing aversion to work and a determination to take any chance for enjoyment which presents itself.

Two forces are therefore at work to produce the present situation. Domestic service attracts large numbers of working-girls, particularly those of little ability or perseverance; at the same time, the discontent which it sometimes engenders through bad working conditions and by imposing a way of life to which many women are unsuited may itself be a predisposing cause of prostitution.

FIRST SEXUAL EXPERIENCE.

Four lists—from Chile, Hungary, Turkey and the United States—give the age at which the women said they had their first sexual experience. Over three-quarters

were between 14 and 18 years old, a few were younger and generally about a sixth were older.

The great majority said that it had been a voluntary action, but there are a few exceptions. Three out of fifty Turkish prostitutes said they had been kidnapped and violated; one woman in the United States said she had been criminally attacked by several boys when she was 12; three women in other lists said they had been raped by their relations.

All the married women in the Turkish list and a third of those in the United States list had had no sexual experience before marriage. In addition, several women said they had been seduced or led on by promises of marriage. The following case is taken from the French list :

Lost her father when she was 7 and was boarded-out with a farmer at the age of 10. Worked in the fields and later did farm work. While she was in the country, she got to know a soldier who promised to marry her. (She was 18 at the time.) With her mother's consent, she left with him on the pretext of visiting his mother in Corsica. In reality, the man was a *souteneur* who took her to Marseilles and made her live as a prostitute.

Seven of the women in the United States list said their first sexual experience was with the man they later married or expected to marry.

Remarks in some of the case-sheets help to explain how the women became prostitutes. Apart from the small number of cases in which force is alleged to have been used, nearly all the women seem to have begun by having sexual relations with a husband or friend for pleasure. Their original intention was not to make money: this only occurred to them later under the pressure of unemployment or through the influence of friends who, in the words of one American prostitute, "told me I could sell it instead of giving it away". Quite often the first relationship lasted some time and several women said it was only brought to an end by their lover deserting them.

Some said they had had several irregular relationships or had led a promiscuous life for years before becoming prostitutes.

From three lists, it is possible to discover the time that elapsed between the beginning of sexual relations and prostitution. It varies very greatly. For 40% of the women, it was less than two years; for another 40%, it was between two and eight years; and for 20%, it was more than eight years. In one case, it was sixteen years.

AGE AT BEGINNING PROSTITUTION AND ALLEGED OR SUPPOSED REASONS FOR DOING SO.

Case-sheets from eight countries ¹ give the age at which the woman became a prostitute. These ages extend over a period of roughly twenty-five years (from 12 to 36), but all the lists concur in placing the age for the majority of women between 17 and 24. The highest figures are usually recorded for the years from 18 to 22. In Europe and America, the distribution between the age-groups is slightly different from that in the Turkish and Indian lists. In the two latter, only 4% of the women became prostitutes after they were 24, compared to 17% in the other lists; nearly a third had begun prostitution before they were 17, whereas this was true of only 2% in the Western countries. There are also, of course, individual variations. The United States and Belgian answers show the highest average age. In these two lists, respectively a third and a quarter of the women began prostitution after they were 24. Five women in the United States list had begun at 30 or older; three of these were the only women who said they prostituted themselves in order to get money for drugs.

The immediate reasons for which the women became prostitutes present a far more complex picture and are more

¹ Belgium, Chile, United States, France, India, Poland, Roumania, Turkey. The Roumanian list generally gives the age of registration or internment in hospital.

sionally, prostitutes helped to keep their parents or their brothers and sisters. A Roumanian prostitute was said to support her sister, who was in a sanatorium for tuberculosis, and her brother, on military service. One woman in the Belgian list, who had two mentally abnormal brothers and an alcoholic father, was said to keep her entire family. A woman in the list from Var (France) said that, after her father's death, she prostituted herself to help the family of seven children. But these are rare exceptions; far more common are the women who said they had to provide for their children. Wives deserted by their husbands with several small children found prostitution the easiest way of making money, or found other employment not sufficiently remunerative. Some examples have already been quoted in the section on marriage. The following is the story of a woman in the Belgian list :

Married at 20. Her husband had no fixed occupation and her marriage was an unhappy one. Deserted by her husband and left with three small daughters. She put them in an orphanage and left for Liège, where she hoped to find work through her uncle. Changing trains, she broke the heel of her shoe and made the acquaintance of a man who helped her to walk and dissuaded her from going to Liège. She went to an address he gave her in Brussels and found herself in a brothel. She then adopted this occupation, as she would have done another. As soon as she was earning enough, she gave her children an excellent education. All three are happily married with children. They are all respectable. . . . Her mental level seems normal. She never drank to excess nor drugged. She now owns two brothels and no longer practises prostitution herself, but lets rooms to prostitutes. She has kept the railway-ticket to Liège, the last vestige of her life as a respectable woman.

A woman in the Hungarian list who had to support two small children—she had divorced her husband because he treated her brutally—said she could not earn enough to keep her two children except by prostitution. When first arrested, a woman in the United Kingdom list was

found to be supporting three children. Her husband was in hospital. She was receiving public assistance but was in arrears with the payments due on her furniture. Her mental level was said to be superior.

The financial burden of an illegitimate child is also alleged fairly frequently as a reason for prostitution. The total number of illegitimate children is unknown, but several lists—from Belgium, Hungary, the United Kingdom (Jewish Association) and some French departments—mention that between a sixth and a third of the unmarried women had children. Most of these children were born before the women became prostitutes, as might be expected, since it is generally supposed that later venereal disease and greater knowledge of preventive measures lessen the chances of pregnancy. In the Belgian list, for example, ten of the eleven unmarried mothers said their child was born before they became prostitutes.

The majority of these women, but not all, mentioned their child as a reason for prostitution. The following, taken from the Lyon-cases sheets, is a typical statement :

. . . worked in a factory from 13 of 16. She had a lover, by whom she had an illegitimate child. Her lover left her, so she handed the child over to a foster-mother and went on working regularly in factories. During the depression, she lost her job. Finding it impossible to keep her child, she drifted naturally into prostitution.

The following is from the United Kingdom list (Manchester) :

After D. F. had been away from home for a short time and was working as a shop-assistant, she met a man about her own age, and after a time they decided to marry. The father of the man would not consent to their marriage owing to religious differences, and said he would cut his son off if he acted against his wishes. The son worked in his father's firm and was therefore dependent on him for a living. The couple waited for a while, hoping the father would change his mind, but when he did not, they decided to live together. . . . At the end of five years, the father found out

what his son was doing, and, in order to try to patch up the relationship between father and son, D. F. left him and took her two-year-old daughter with her. She placed the child with a foster-mother, to whom she paid 12 s. 6 d. a week, and in order to keep herself and the child took to a life of prostitution. After three months of this life, she was charged and was extremely thankful to give up the life. She now has an agreement with the father of the child and receives 15s. per week. Her mental level was said to be superior.

Curiously enough, none of the women in the United States was said to have had an illegitimate child. This may be partly explained by the fact that more than half were married. Several said they "had to get married", as they were pregnant.

Several of the investigators asked whether the woman was employed when she became a prostitute, and this might throw light on the importance of poverty as a deciding factor. Unfortunately, the very different answers recorded show that the question was understood in different ways. All the Swiss prostitutes, for instance, were said to have been employed, only one of the Italian. The question may sometimes have been taken to mean, was the woman employed when she became a registered prostitute? and in part of the United Kingdom list, the question refers to the time of the first conviction. Again, when the woman was unemployed, the case-sheets do not always state whether she was looking for work or not.

Altogether, 1,011 case-sheets asked this question. About 40% of the women said they were unemployed, a third said they were employed: a few of these said they were not earning enough. Of the remainder, sixty-eight had never worked, sixty-eight were living at home, twenty-three had given up their jobs of their own accord and fifteen were in casual work. For 124, no statement was made. Taking into account the different interpretations of the question, it seems a fair assumption that actually the proportion employed was higher than these figures show. The num-

ber of women who were not looking for employment may also have been larger than it appears.

Next in importance after poverty was the influence of the milieu itself. This made itself felt partly through association with prostitutes—met in the course of work or in reformatories or hospitals—partly through the activities of procurers or *souteneurs*. About a fifth of the women mentioned their occupation or the company of prostitutes as a reason for beginning the life themselves. Some had worked as servants in brothels, assignation houses or cheap hotels, others had applied for posts in shops, cafés or night-clubs and had found themselves in clandestine houses of prostitution. Many said that they were persuaded by their girl friends, or that their friends “showed them the ropes”. *Souteneurs* or procurers were mentioned rather less often, most frequently in the lists from the Argentine, Belgium, France, India, Roumania and Turkey. Sometimes, the women had married *souteneurs*, more often they had fallen in love with men who had afterwards exploited them. The following two cases are examples :

Working in a cake shop and restaurant, she got to know a man who appeared to be a commercial traveller. He infected her with syphilis. The girl then left her father in order to live entirely with this man, who was in reality a *souteneur* and forced her to prostitute herself. (Isère, France.)

She was a domestic servant. She had relations with a man who infected her with venereal disease. Her employer sent her to hospital. On leaving the hospital, someone offered to find her a job as a servant and took her to a brothel. (Roumania.)

In nineteen of the twenty-five case-sheets sent from the Argentine, the activities of procurers and *souteneurs* were mentioned as one of the reasons for prostitution. They were also mentioned in nearly half the Bombay cases. The following cases are typical :

My parents are very poor. In the month of January 1935, I was brought to Bombay by one K. and R., a Christian woman.

In Bombay, they made me to earn as a prostitute. They were arrested by the police, but were acquitted in the court.

I was an illegitimate child of my mother, so I could not get married. One S. took me to a brothel to earn as a prostitute. I was aged about 20 years at the time.

Souteneurs are not expressly mentioned in the Turkish list, but several of the women had been seduced or abducted and then abandoned in brothels. In his table of the immediate causes of prostitution, Dr. Kemp gives the influence of *souteneurs* in 8.3% of the cases; he adds: "It was impossible to determine exactly how many of the women examined by us had, or at any rate had had, a pimp at one time or other. The women were almost always ashamed to discuss this and only admitted it when the fact could not be concealed."

A reason mentioned nearly as frequently as the last was the desire for an easy life. Sometimes this seemed to spring from a naturally idle disposition, sometimes from bad working conditions which produced boredom or dislike of the particular work engaged on; it was often coupled with a love of luxury and a longing for amusement and smart clothes which ordinary wages could not provide. In about a third of the Hungarian case-sheets, the reason given for prostitution was that the woman wanted to earn her living without work or was discontented with work. One said "she could not earn enough to dress herself prettily and go to dances". A woman in the United States list said she prostituted herself "to get luxuries and because it was easy money"; another said she was tired of work and got in with bad company: "I'm lazy and the money is good." One said that while looking for work she met a school friend who said nice clothes could be bought and money made more easily in prostitution, so she became a prostitute too. "I never tried to get another job. I got smart then." There were other remarks of the same kind: "My friends had fine jewellery and fur coats. I wanted

them too." "I needed money for clothes and things. Can't live on 25 dollars a month (her pay as a nursemaid). I'm young; I want things."

Clearly, even here, the reasons were also partly economic. It was not so much that the women could not, in their occupations, earn enough to exist, as that they could not earn enough to live in the way they wanted. In only one or two cases does the desire for money appear to have played no part at all.

Poverty, the influence of prostitutes and procurers, and the desire for an easy life were the three reasons most commonly given; of the remaining reasons, neglect in adolescence recurs most frequently. Some girls who had been in foundling homes left to work at 14 or 15. Others left home very young on account of poverty, unhappiness or the death of their parents. Some were turned out by their parents because they were pregnant or had a lover. The following cases are from the United Kingdom case-sheets—the first from Cardiff, the second from Manchester.

On leaving school, E. T. was residing with her mother, who was a widow. She was placed out in domestic service for one year and then was obliged to return home to nurse her mother. On the death of her mother two years later, she was without a home, and came to this city for the day, went down to the docks area, got into bad company, and at once commenced a life of prostitution.

Her mother died when she was a small child and her father three months before she went on the streets as a professional prostitute. Younger sister (15 or 16) an immoral character, when staying at home. Two brothers had a violent quarrel over disposal of family property. The younger sold the furniture without the permission of the others. L. J.'s home collapsed. House in very poor quarter.

The following case is taken from the Hungarian list :

Until her twelfth year, she was in a foundling hospital. Her father died in the war. Her mother was very poor and for years ill. . . . From her very first youth, she was a clandestine prostitute. She never learnt to work for her living.

And the following from Lyons :

Family was respectable and very strict. The parents were happily married. She was engaged to a young fellow-worker in the silk factory and had a child by him which died at birth. Her fiancé left her and her parents turned her out. She continued working, but when the depression came the factory closed down. On a friend's advice, she went into a brothel. She frequents watering-places, in order not to harm the family's reputation.

Occasionally, the women seem to have taken to prostitution in reaction against an excessively strict upbringing. The longing for gaiety and luxury which had been starved at home seemed to break out the more strongly when the girls escaped from their parents' control. This is most noticeable in the United States list; in fact, the memorandum accompanying it notes that, in a quarter of the cases, the women "complained of excessive strictness, usually associated with religious fervour, of parents and guardians. When such rigidity has occurred, it is not uncommon for the woman to voice her complaint in the following fashion : ' If they (the parents) had let me have some of the fun I wanted, the things I was missing wouldn't have seemed so wonderful.' " The same remarks are echoed in other lists. Two Belgian prostitutes complained of the strictness of their parents. A British prostitute said her home was good, but her foster-mother was strict and she wanted gaiety. Another said she could not accommodate herself to the family's high moral standard.

Some women mentioned ill-health as one of the reasons which induced them to become prostitutes. A woman in the Belgian list had eczema on her hands and could not always do household work. Another in the Hungarian list found it hard to find posts as a domestic servant, because she had to eat diet food. Several said they were not strong enough to do hard manual work. Dr. Kemp found that of the 530 women he examined, nearly half suffered or had suffered from a serious chronic disease

(other than venereal disease). He also found that the working power of a quarter of the women was either nil or greatly reduced because of physical disease.

Other reasons occasionally given were disappointment in love, impatience of routine and the desire to be free, mental deficiency and hypersexuality.

There are also some reasons for prostitution which are practically confined to the Indian answers. For example, the Government of Orissa states that "prostitutes are generally recruited from families which have adopted this profession since generations"; and another provincial Government observes that "a large proportion of prostitutes are such by heredity". Many of the women in the United Provinces case-sheets were the daughters of prostitutes and were said to have been brought up to that profession from childhood. The reply states, in fact, that "there is at least one caste in the United Provinces, the hereditary occupation of whose women is prostitution". Several of the women in the Bombay list also were the daughters of prostitutes. One of them made the following statement :

My mother was a murli (dancing girl) by profession and used to maintain herself by prostitution. I was dedicated to God Khandoba of Jejuri in my childhood. I worked as a murli. I started to earn by prostitution when I was aged about 21 years.

Another said :

My mother was earning her livelihood as a prostitute prior to my birth. I was not married. I was dedicated to one God Shanta Durga by my mother when I was aged 10-12 years, according to the practice of our caste. My mother is still alive. She is maintained by my sister, who also earns by prostitution.

To sum up, the case-sheets show that the immediate reasons for prostitution are many, and this is also true for each individual. It is a rare case in which a single reason is given for the first step. This emerges even from the

quotations which have been chosen to illustrate special points. The factor mentioned most constantly, now as a dominating, now as a subsidiary reason, was economic pressure; in only a few cases did the need for money appear to have no influence at all. Two other reasons commonly, though less universally, given were, on the one hand, natural laziness and love of luxury, and, on the other, the attraction exercised by the market through prostitutes and procurers.

A reason which is little stressed but which seems to be behind many of those mentioned is the effect of employment conditions. These are not taken to mean simply low wages, although they played their part, but also the dull and monotonous work with no prospect of change at which the girls had been occupied from 14 or 15 onwards or even younger. Discontent and boredom made them ready to accept any chance of altering their way of life.

CONVICTIONS.

The compilers of the case-sheets were asked to discover the age at which the women had first been convicted for an offence connected with prostitution and the number of subsequent convictions. A few answers have omitted this information, sometimes adding that prostitution is not a crime or an offence in the country in question. This is, of course, true of most countries; nevertheless, there is nearly always some action connected with prostitution for which prostitutes can be charged—loitering, soliciting, inciting to immorality, vagrancy, disorderly or indecent behaviour, infecting with venereal disease. A few answers mention these as the charges on which the prostitutes were convicted. In most of the United States of America, prostitution is an offence in itself, and the majority of the women in this list had been charged under the New York Criminal Code with offering to commit prostitution.

Taking together all the fifteen lists ¹ which give complete information on this point, 651 women had been convicted, 447 had never been convicted, and for forty there was no information. The proportion varies greatly from list to list, but no conclusions can be drawn from these variations; the sources of information are too diverse. On this point, case-sheets based on police or prison files are clearly not comparable with those drawn up by social service workers or nurses.

On the other hand, the ages at first conviction are perfectly comparable, and it would be interesting to discover whether the first conviction usually follows quickly on the beginning of prostitution. Unfortunately, only the United States case-sheets give throughout the two dates which are necessary to answer this question exactly. They show that two-thirds of the women were convicted within a year of becoming prostitutes and four-fifths within two years. Five were convicted three months or less after they had begun prostitution. In the Belgian answer, where some of the case-sheets give this information, the majority of the women had been convicted within two years of beginning prostitution. In six of the other lists—from Canada, France (women's international organisations), Italy, Poland, Switzerland and Uruguay ²—half or more than half had been convicted before they were 21. In two more lists—from France and Danzig—the proportion is about a third. Altogether, in ten out of the twelve lists, two-thirds or more of the women had been convicted before they were 25. There are a few instances of young girls being convicted; two women in the Swiss list and one in the Canadian

¹ From Belgium, the United Kingdom (two lists—one from the Government, one from the Jewish Association), Canada, Danzig, the United States, France (two lists—one from the Government, one from the women's international organisations), India (Bombay), Italy, Norway, Poland, Switzerland, Turkey, Uruguay.

² The Uruguayan list gives the date of the first *arrest*. It does not state whether the arrest was for prostitution.

had been convicted at 13. As a rule, therefore, most of the women were convicted young, and it seems reasonable to assume that usually their first conviction occurred during the first years of prostitution.

The two lists in which ages at first conviction were noticeably high are those from Belgium and India. Only 6% of the prostitutes in the Belgian list had been convicted before they were 21, and less than half before they were 25. This may be due to the fact that quite a number did not become prostitutes till they were 25 or older, and also because this list contains many older women who became prostitutes during the war and were not convicted until the war was over.

On the other hand, neither of these two causes can serve to explain why none of the women in the Bombay list were convicted before they were 21 and only a fifth before they were 25. Here, the figures reflect one of the differences between prostitution in the East and in the West. Prostitutes in the Far East rarely solicit custom in the streets,¹ and most of these women had first been charged with procuring or living on the earnings of prostitution, at a time, in fact, when they were probably no longer prostitutes themselves.

The number of subsequent convictions varies greatly from answer to answer. In the lists from Italy and Danzig, three-quarters or more of the prostitutes who had been convicted at all had had at least five convictions. In the Italian list, a quarter had been convicted from fifteen to thirty times. One woman in Danzig had been convicted 196 times and had been sentenced in all to imprisonment for 2,277 days.

In another group of answers—from Belgium, the United Kingdom and Poland—about half the women had had more

¹ The report from the women's international organisations on India states that soliciting is increasing among Anglo-Indian prostitutes.

than five convictions. One of the British prostitutes had been convicted 120 times, and thirty or forty convictions are not unusual.¹ The Norwegian list does not always give the number of convictions, but about half of the women were said to have been convicted only once or twice.

Finally, the lists from Canada, France and the United States contain only a small minority of women who had been frequently charged. Nearly half the Canadian prostitutes had only had one conviction. Nearly half the prostitutes in the United States list had had only one or two convictions. In striking contrast to the official case-sheets from the United Kingdom, none of the nineteen British prostitutes assisted by the Jewish Association had been convicted more than three times.

Part of these variations are explained by a comparison of the number of subsequent convictions with the average age in each list. It is not surprising to find, for example, that in a list such as the Canadian, where 70% of the women were under 30, the number of subsequent convictions is smaller than in the Danzig list, where less than a third of the women were under 30. Differences of age probably account in part for the conflicting impressions made by the two lists from the United Kingdom; only one of the prostitutes assisted by the Jewish Association was over 30, whereas in the official case-sheets, a third of the women were over 30.

The case-sheets also provide evidence of the traditional connection between prostitution and certain minor offences : drunkenness, theft and larceny (often from customers),

¹ This does not mean a similar number of imprisonments. Probably most of these convictions were made under the Act authorising a police-constable to arrest "a common prostitute, or night walker, loitering and importuning passengers for the purpose of prostitution in any street to the obstruction, annoyance or danger of the residents or passengers", or some similar regulation. Conviction entails a fine of 40s. or imprisonment for fourteen days but the fine is usually imposed.

using abusive and insulting language, etc. Of the prostitutes in the United Kingdom list, 14% had been convicted for drunkenness, 10% for theft or larceny. Three Norwegian and three Czechoslovak prostitutes had been convicted for theft. Dr. Kemp found that a third of the women examined in Copenhagen had been in prison for crimes and offences other than prostitution (larceny, receiving stolen goods, fraud, feticide, incest, procuring). Possibly, also, many small thefts from patrons go unrecorded, as, for various reasons, the victims may prefer not to report them.

The relatively small number of women criminals has led students of this subject to suggest that both prostitution and crime have the same origins and that prostitution among women is an outlet for the same tendencies which lead men to commit crimes. As further proof, it has been asserted that prostitutes are rarely convicted of criminal offences.

The charges are not given fully enough in the case-sheets for it to be possible to say whether they bear out this theory, but in the few lists which give the reasons for conviction in detail, serious crimes are rarely mentioned. One woman out of 218 in the United Kingdom list was convicted of unlawful wounding, two of fraud. One or two in the Belgian and French lists were charged with receiving stolen goods. None of the United States prostitutes appear to have been convicted of any greater offence than the possessions of drugs.

SOCIAL SERVICE ASSISTANCE.

The question whether social assistance was offered to the woman at her first conviction is answered fully in thirteen lists.¹ Altogether, 355 out of a total of 600 convicted

¹ From Belgium, the United Kingdom (two lists—one from the Government, one from the Jewish Association), Canada, Danzig, the United States, France, India (Bombay), Italy, Norway, Poland, Switzerland, Turkey.

women (59%) were given the opportunity to accept help if they wished it. The proportion who had this opportunity varies greatly, however, from list to list. These variations are due in part to different national systems, in part also to the different sources of the information. It is not surprising to find a fuller record of assistance in the cases sent by voluntary organisations, as these organisations had sometimes provided the help themselves.

Among the official answers, the percentage is highest in France and the United Kingdom. In both these lists, over 70% of the convicted women were offered help, for the most part by social service workers attached to police courts. In the Belgian and Italian lists, one in every three or four of the convicted women was offered help; in the other official lists, the percentage is lower.¹ The replies from voluntary organisations show that 40% to 80% of the convicted women had been offered assistance.

Often, and particularly in countries with regulated prostitution, offers of help were made to women who had never been convicted. For example, in the Czechoslovak case-sheets, where only a few women were said to have been convicted, many had been sheltered at various times in homes. One of the Roumanian lists which gave no information on convictions, stating that prostitution was not a legal offence in Roumania, showed that about half the women had been offered help. It appears from the Hungarian reply that all the women were offered help when they applied to become registered prostitutes. In addition, of course, women in many lists were said to have received assistance at later convictions.

The offers of assistance came from many sources, but in only two answers do public officials or institutions predominate (in Belgium, the social service nurse attached to

¹ The Uruguayan reply states that a third of the convicted women had been sent to religious homes, but it does not say whether this occurred at their first conviction.

the Service des Mœurs, Brussels, and in the United Kingdom the probation officers, semi-official social workers attached to the courts). In the remainder, the work was shared between public institutions (State Departments of Social Service, Public Assistance, offices for minors, etc.) and private organisations, or carried on entirely by the latter.

The nature of the assistance does not vary so greatly as its extent and its sources.¹ Sometimes arrangements were made for the girl to be sent back to her family or to a relation; more often, she was offered shelter and help in finding employment (generally domestic work), or sent to a hospital or home. Occasionally, marriage papers or an identity-card were obtained.

In some countries, institutional treatment appears to be more common than in others. In Italy and Uruguay, all the women assisted were sent to homes, which usually belonged to a religious order. In the Czechoslovak list, the only assistance mentioned is that given by Salvation Army homes. The majority of the Swiss prostitutes who had been assisted had been in training or welfare homes, but in this respect the list may be unrepresentative, as the directors of several homes were asked to help in compiling the case-sheets. On the other hand, the answers from Belgium, the United Kingdom, Danzig, the United States, France, Poland and Roumania show that generally only minors or women who were destitute or in need of special treatment were recommended to institutions. For the others, although they were supervised to a certain extent and sometimes encouraged to live in hostels, the social workers directed their efforts chiefly to finding work or reconciling them with their families.

Offers of help were quite often refused. This is most noticeable in the British list, where nearly a third of the

¹ The kind of help offered and the methods of rehabilitation employed are not described in detail here, as they form the subject of another part of the report on rehabilitation.

women had refused assistance, and in the Hungarian list, where all the women had been offered employment at one time or another, but practically none had accepted. In the Norwegian list, a sixth of those who were offered help declined it. Of the seventeen women offered help by the social service bureau of a New York prison, four refused.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Part of the interest of all studies in prostitution lies in their illumination of its causes. So far, this report has merely analysed the facts collected in the case-sheets without attempting to estimate their relative importance. In these concluding remarks, the material will be reconsidered with a new purpose in view—the attempt to discover what causes led the women to become prostitutes.

But first, the reservations made in the introduction must be repeated. The facts on which these deductions are based may not be accurate, since only a few of the investigators were able to confirm their findings objectively; even if accurate, they probably only apply to a small section of prostitutes. Again, it is difficult to estimate the importance of the findings whenever there is no similar information about the whole population to compare them with. Any deductions made must therefore be tentative and only of limited value.

Prostitution is sometimes said to be an economic phenomenon, which fluctuates with the level of employment and wages. Others assert that it is temperament rather than poverty which causes women to become prostitutes. Actually, it is difficult to separate causes in the character of the individual from causes in her circumstances and surroundings. For in every life, environment helps to form character, character in its turn determines environment, so that the exact importance of the part played by each can hardly be discovered. The case-sheets suggest that, in the lives of the women they describe, prostitution cannot be explained by the action of one set of factors only. When-

ever fairly full life histories are given, most of the women appear to have become prostitutes from the cumulative effect of a series of causes in temperament, upbringing and events.

Nevertheless, some of the most powerful predisposing causes of prostitution seem to lie in the mentality and temperament of the individual. A third of the women described in this enquiry were considered to be mentally abnormal or sub-normal, and this, for the most part, without special tests or examination by expert psychologists. Whenever the examination was more thorough, an even larger number were found to be below normal. Only a few of the women were considered imbecile or insane; in the great majority, the defects were too slight to entitle them to special care or treatment, although apparently serious enough to handicap them in their life and work.

Both in the women of normal and sub-normal intelligence, the investigators often noticed traits of character which would be likely to cause unhappiness and failure. These were, on the one hand, excessive restlessness and lack of self confidence and, on the other, lack of affection, great reserve or introversion, defiance of authority and irascibility, which made the women's personal relationships difficult and often unsuccessful. It is impossible to tell how often these characteristics were inherited, but a study of the case-sheets suggests strongly that many were, if not produced, at least strengthened, by circumstances in childhood. Only a third of the women seemed to have had happy and comfortable homes. Of the rest, some were orphans or illegitimate and were brought up by strangers or relatives; many lost one parent when they were still young. In addition, disagreements between the parents, neglect, lack of control over the children or excessive strictness, the father's addiction to drink, and family quarrels, especially with step-parents, often produced unhappiness and friction. This picture may very likely be a true one. The

experience of other writers who have been able to test the truth of stories told by prostitutes suggests that they do not usually make out conditions in childhood to be worse than the reality, although they may stress extenuating circumstances in later life.

Whether the characteristics mentioned were the product of upbringing or heredity, or both, they left their mark on the women's work and personal relationships in later life. Few seem to have been satisfied or successful in their employment. The great majority had no vocational training and were engaged in unskilled work; many changed their positions frequently. A third of the women married; most, apparently, before becoming prostitutes. Some had married very young, and hardly any of the marriages were successful. A few were widows, but the great majority were divorced or separated from their husbands. Sometimes the marriages lasted a very short time—six months or a year.

Two other characteristics noticed by the investigators, and often found together, were laziness and the love of luxury. There seems no doubt that some of the women longed for "smart clothes and a good time" and that frequently a too strict upbringing made these pleasures seem all the more desirable. On the other hand, the many women described as "hating work" do not all seem to have been constitutionally lazy. It is true that a few women said themselves that they were lazy and that some of those classed as mentally sub-normal were described as apathetic or very slow; but nearly all the women had had paid employment and many of those described as lazy had worked for six or seven years before becoming prostitutes. Boredom with their particular work and despair of ever enjoying a higher standard of life may have had as great an influence as laziness. Dr. Kemp attributed the aversion to work, in many of the women he examined, to a mental condition.

which bear on all our methods of thought and feeling and all our social custom".¹ In considering the facts set out in this report, the primary causes of prostitution must not be forgotten.

¹ Havelock ELLIS : " The Task of Social Hygiene ", page 303. Constable, London.

II. SUMMARIES OF REPLIES

From Governments:

BELGIUM

49 case-sheets collected by the social service nurse of the Brussels Public Health Department;

12 case-sheets from the "Maison de Refuge", St. André-lez-Bruges (a State institution).

Age.

Under 21	1	31 to 35.....	10
21 to 25	5	36 to 40.....	12
26 to 30	12	Over 40	21

Nationality.

56 Belgian, 3 French, 1 British, 1 German.

Civil Status.

33 single, 28 married (including 3 widowed, 5 divorced, 16 separated).

Marriage Age.

Age	Number	Age	Number
18	6	23.....	1
19	2	30.....	2
20	1	38.....	1
21	2		

Not known : 7.

Legitimacy.

57 legitimate, 4 illegitimate.

Mental Level.

Normal intelligence	30
Below normal	18
Limited intelligence	10
Abnormal.....	2
Feeble-minded	1

The investigator added adjectives describing a few of the women. They were : excitable (2), boastful (1), rather apathetic (1), difficult character (1), lazy and fond of luxury (1).

Health.

1 woman had a paralysed arm, 1 suffered from chronic ill-health, 1 had eczema on her hands.

Father's Occupation.

Skilled and unskilled workmen	25
Tradesmen	6
Restaurant keepers	3
Clerks	2
Contractor	1
Cab-hirer	1
House-decorator	1
Artist	1
Business man	1
Farmer	1
Gamekeepers	2
No information	17

Home Conditions.

Brought up in an institution	5
" " with relatives	5
" " at home : with one parent	14
" " " : with both parents	29
Home apparently good	21
Family quarrels.....	5
Child neglected	2
Child ill-treated	3
Child sexually assaulted by relatives	1
Parents too strict	3
Lack of discipline	1
Father alcoholic	2
Institutions	5
No information	18

3 homes were said to be very poor.

18 seem to have had good homes and were brought up by both parents.

There were 12 families with 6 or more children.

Education.

	Day	Boarders	Total
Elementary school only	42	4	46
Secondary school	7	2	9
Professional training.....	3	—	3
Illiterate	—	—	3

School-leaving Age.

(Compulsory school attendance : 6-14.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
9	1	14.....	15
10	8	15.....	6
11	1	16.....	8
12	6	17.....	1
13	4	19.....	1

Of those who were brought up in, or later sent to, institutions,
3 left at 18, 1 at 20, and 3 at 21.

5 were said to have attended school irregularly.

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
10	1	19.....	7
12	1	20.....	3
14	1	21.....	7
15	2	22.....	1
16	2	23.....	4
17	4	30.....	1
18	9		

3 never left.

8 no information.

(7 were in institutions—see above.)

Left to work	7
Marriage	10
Death of a parent or guardian	6
Family quarrels.....	3
Because they had an illegitimate child or were pregnant.....	5
Ran away	1
Left with a lover.....	1
Turned out	2
No information	16

First Employment.

Domestic servants	16
In factories or workshops	15
In dressmaking, millinery or sewing	9
Shop-assistants or errand girls	6
Farm-workers	3
Waitresses	2
Laundress	1
Typist	1
Masseuse	1
Never worked	8

Age on taking to Prostitution.

Age	Number	Age	Number
15	2	23	1
16	2	24	3
17	1	25	5
18	2	26	2
19	4	27	2
20	5	29	1
21	7	32	1
22	6		

For 17, no information.

Employment at the Time.

Domestic servants	9
Waitresses	5
Shop-assistants	5
In factories or workshops	4
In dressmaking, millinery or sewing	2
Masseuse	1
Unemployed	7

1 was in casual work, 1 had given up her job, 3 had never worked, 8 were keeping house. For 14, there is no information.

Age at First Conviction.

Under 21	3	31 to 35	2
21 to 25	19	Over 40	4
26 to 30	12		

12 had never been convicted. For 9, the age was not given. 11 had been convicted only once; 26 had had many subsequent convictions. (The great majority of the convictions were for public incitement to immorality.)

Social Service Assistance.

15 had been offered assistance at their first conviction (by the social service branch of the Brussels Public Health Department). The rest had been offered assistance at subsequent convictions.

UNITED KINGDOM

218 case-sheets. 160 were taken consecutively as the women were received into prisons or came under the notice of probation officers. 58 were received from voluntary agencies, the Scottish After-Care Council, women police-patrols and a hospital for venereal diseases.

Age.

Under 21	14	31 to 35.....	34
21 to 25	70	36 to 40.....	23
26 to 30	54	Over 40.....	22

Nationality.

All the women were British.

Civil Status.

122 were single, 84 married (including 5 widowed, 3 divorced, 23 separated). For 12, there was no information.

Legitimacy.

12 illegitimate, 205 legitimate, 1 doubtful.

Mental Level.

Superior intelligence	22
Normal intelligence	132
Border-line	55
Certifiable	4

The investigators added remarks about some of the women :

Weak or unbalanced.....	6
Neurotic.....	6
Defiant and unruly	2
Attempted suicide	2
Mentally and physically indolent	2
Very slow.....	1

Health.

2 were tubercular, 4 alcoholic, 3 had bad health.

Father's Occupation.

This is given in 19 cases.

Miners	6	Clerk	1
Labourers	5	Electrician	1
Joiner	1	Estate agent	1
Engineer	1	Public-house keeper	1
Farmer	1	Army officer	1

Home Conditions.

Good home	78
Fair	5
Respectable	16
Lack of discipline	4
Parents too strict	2
Family quarrels	7
Child ill-treated	1
Mother immoral	6
Father alcoholic	4
Unfavourable home	26
Brought up in an institution	12

16 children were said to have been brought up by friends or relatives.

3 children had been left orphans at 14 or 15.

25 homes were said to be poor.

In 18 cases, there was no information.

Education.

	Day	Boarders	Total
Elementary only	169	25	194
Secondary	3	21	24

School-leaving Age.

(Compulsory school attendance : 6-14.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
11	1	16	25
12	3	17	5
13	6	18	3
14	156	19	2
15	14		

3, no information.

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
11	1	17.....	20
13	3	18.....	18
14	22	19.....	16
15	15	20.....	5
16	20		

23 left between 21 and 25.

5 left between 26 and 30.

2 left over 30.

5 never left.

50 no information.

Of 13 children who were brought up in, or later sent to, institutions, 4 left at 14, 7 at 16, 2 at 17.

First Employment.

Domestic servants.....	103
In factories or workshops	32
Waitresses	5
Laundresses.....	4
Actresses, dancers, etc.	9
Clerks	11
Nurses or hospital assistants	5
Shop-assistants	12
In dressmaking, sewing or millinery	6
Hairdresser or manicurist	1
Farm-workers	7
At home	9
Never worked	6
No information	8

90 changed their positions frequently, 68 did not. For the rest, there is no information.

Employment on taking to Prostitution.

Employed	36
Unemployed	95
In casual employment	8
Had given up their jobs.....	2
Living at home or keeping house	24
Never worked	6
Living on an allowance from her husband	1
No information	45

Age at First Conviction.

Under 21	48	36 to 40.....	9
21 to 25	98	Over 40	4
26 to 30	28	No information	9
31 to 35	22		

69 had been convicted only once, 16 twice, 20 three or four times. 57 had been convicted 5 to 15 times; 43 had been convicted 15 or more times. For 13, there was no information.

31 had been convicted for drunkenness, 20 for theft, 2 for fraud, 1 for unlawful wounding, 1 for robbery with violence.

Social Service Assistance.

Assistance offered	153
No assistance offered	61
Help unnecessary	2
No information	2

(97 accepted assistance, 56 refused it.)

Assistance was given usually by a probation officer or police-court mission; sometimes by Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society or voluntary homes.

CANADA

50 case-sheets taken in the order in which they appeared in the records of a large State institution for women committed as prostitutes.

Age when committed to Care.

Under 21.....	15	31 to 35.....	8
21 to 25	13	36 to 40.....	3
26 to 30	7	Over 40.....	4

Nationality.

All Canadian. The case-sheets also give information on the women's racial origin; 28 were of British stock (13 English, 8 Irish, 6 Scottish, 1 Welsh), 11 of French, 3 of German, 1 of Ukrainian. 5 were North-American Indians, 2 negroes. The proportion of these stocks in the total population is : British, 57%, French, 31%, German, 5%, Ukrainian, 2%, North-American Indian, 1%, negroes, $\frac{1}{4}$ %.

Civil Status.

31 were single, 19 married (2 widowed, 1 divorced, 6 separated).

Legitimacy.

49 legitimate, 1 illegitimate.

Mental Level.

Normal intelligence	37
Sub-normal	7
Border-line	1
Certifiable	5

Home Conditions.

(This information apparently refers to home conditions at the time when the investigation was made.)

No home	6
Orphans	6
Mother or father dead	9
Mother remarried	4
Parents separated	3
Unfavourable home	8
Cruel treatment	1
Invalid father	1
Good homes	12

3 homes were poor; 4 of the women had immoral or criminal parents.

Education.

- 43 elementary education only.
- 4 secondary education.
- 3 practically no education.

School-leaving Age.

(In the province concerned, school attendance is compulsory up to 14, part-time attendance to 16 or 18.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
11	3	14.....	9
12	4	16.....	10
13	7	17.....	4

26 of the 50 girls left school before completing the minimum compulsory attendance.

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
12	8	17.....	5
13	2	18.....	2
14	3	20.....	1
15	7	23.....	1
16	9	25.....	1

8 never left.

3 no information.

First Employment.

Domestic servants	27
Waitresses	3
Laundress	1
In factory	1
In dressmaking.....	1
Clerk	1
Graduate nurse	1
Housewives	9
At home	2
No work.....	4

21 changed their positions frequently, 23 did not.

Employment on taking to Prostitution.

Domestic servants	8
Waitresses	3
Laundress	1
Graduate nurse	1
Unemployed	26

2 were living at home, 4 had never worked, 5 were keeping their own homes.

Age at First Conviction.

Under 21.....	24	31 to 35.....	2
21 to 25	12	36 to 45.....	4
26 to 30	6	No information	2

(One was first convicted at 13, 2 at 16, 8 at 17.)

20 had been convicted only once, 12 had, subsequent conviction, 7 had 2, 4 had 3, 2 had 6 or more. For 2 women, the number of convictions was unknown.

Social Service Assistance.

1 woman was assisted at her first conviction by a private individual.

CHILE

49 case-sheets collected by agencies of the Public Health Department.

Age.

Under 21.....	9	26 to 30.....	6
21 to 25	34		

Nationality.

45 Chilean, 1 Mexican, 1 Argentinian. For 2, there was no information.

Civil Status.

44 single, 5 married (including 2 widowed).

Legitimacy.

45 legitimate, 2 illegitimate, 2 no information.

Mental Level.

Normal intelligence	37
Border-line	10
Abnormal.....	1
Feeble-minded	1

Home Conditions.

Poor homes	29
Comfortably off.....	20
Adopted children	2
Orphans	20 (at time of enquiry?)
Mother or father dead.....	17 (at time of enquiry?)
No knowledge of parents ..	1

Education.

Elementary education only	31
Secondary education	9
No education.....	9

School-leaving Age.

(Compulsory school attendance up to 15.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
7	1	13	3
8	2	14	8
9	1	15	8
10	3	16	6
11	2	17	1
12	5	19	1

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
9	1	16	4
11	1	17	4
12	4	18	5
13	3	19	5
14	2	20	3
15	7	22	2

Never left, 2; no information, 6.

Left home voluntarily	25
Seduced	7
Turned out	6
Death of parents	4
Marriage	2
Left when their parents moved to another town...	2
Abandoned by adoptive parents	1
Never left	2

First Employment.

Domestic servants	18
Actress, dancer, etc.	2
Clerks	3
Shop-assistants	8
In millinery	1
Hairdresser	1
Home-worker	1
At home	2
Never worked	13

Age at which the Women had their First Sexual Experience.

Age	Number	Age	Number
13	2	18	9
14	8	19	2
15	7	20	4
16	5	23	1
17	11		

Age on taking to Prostitution.

Age	Number	Age	Number
14	3	21	2
15	2	22	5
16	4	23	1
17	6	24	4
18	4	28	1
19	8	29	1
20	8		

Employment at the Time.

Domestic servants	12
Shop-assistants	3
Clerk	1
In a factory	1
Unemployed	10
At home	8
Living with a friend	1
Never worked	13

Convictions.

No information.

Social Service Assistance.

No information.

DENMARK

Information collected by Dr. Tage Kemp for his work "Prostitution" (Copenhagen, 1936), and relating to 530 women who had been questioned by the morality police of Copenhagen. The figures in the book are given in percentages.

Age (300 women only).

	%		%
Under 21.....	15	31 to 35... .	17
21 to 25	27	36 to 40.....	8
26 to 30	30	Over 40.....	3

Nationality.

No information. The place of birth was as follows :

	%
Copenhagen.....	34.2
Smaller towns	28.0
In the country	35.5
Abroad	2.3

Civil Status.

62% were single, 37.8% married (1.5% widowed, 13% divorced, 6.6% separated, 3.8% deserted).

Legitimacy.

Legitimate, 83%; illegitimate, 17%.

Mental Level (523 women).

An intelligence test resulted as follows :

	%
Intelligence quotient greater than 90%.....	50.1
„ „ 90 to 85% (slightly retarded)	23.2
„ „ 85 to 75% (retarded)	19.1
„ „ 75 to 55% (debile, morons).	6.8
„ „ less than 55% (imbecile) ...	0.8

A test on other mental characteristics resulted as follows :

	%
Psychopaths with normal intelligence quotient ..	13.4
„ „ sub-normal „ „	9.1
Other mental diseases.....	7.9

Altogether, 70.6% of the women were mentally defective or abnormal in some way or other.

Health.

47.4% of the women suffered or had suffered from serious chronic diseases. In 26.6%, working power was nil or greatly reduced because of physical disease.

Venereal Disease.

73.4% had had venereal disease; 18.9%, syphilis only; 27.0%, gonorrhea only; 27.5%, both syphilis and gonorrhea.

Of the recognised prostitutes (430), 76.1% had had venereal disease; 20.5%, syphilis only; 23.7%, gonorrhea only; 31.9%, both syphilis and gonorrhea.

Father's Occupation.

	%
Skilled and unskilled labourers	64.0
Tradesmen (usually hawkers)	6.0
Civil servants, officials, etc.	5.5
Farmers	2.1
Master artisans	1.3
Other occupations	9.6
No information	11.5

Home Conditions.

Economic standard :	
Extreme poverty	42.8
Poverty.....	45.8
Middle-class home	11.4
Father unknown	11.5
Father died before child was 14	11.5
Mother unknown	2.3
Mother died before child was 14	13.8
Parents divorced (usually before the child grew up) ..	11.0

In 522 cases for which the facts could be discovered, the average number of children in the family was 6.7.

Dr. Kemp writes that one-third of the women were not brought up at home but spent their childhood under troubled and shifting conditions. 3% were brought up by close relations, 3% were boarded out or sent to a home, 27% were raised under combined conditions, partly in homes or almshouses, partly in institutions for the feeble-minded or epileptic, partly at home or with relatives.

Education.

	%
Elementary school only	91
Secondary school	2
Classes for retarded children	7

School-leaving Age.

Dr. Kemp states that 86% attended elementary schools from 7 to 14, and that 2% went to secondary schools but none beyond the sixteenth or seventeenth year.

Age on leaving Home.

No information.

Main Employment.

	%
Domestic workers	81.2
Factory hands	6.9
Seamstresses	3.2
Waitresses	0.6
Saleswomen	2.6
Office clerks.....	0.4
Other occupations	5.1

("Other occupations" includes milliners, sandwich-makers, models, variety artists, chorus girls, etc.)

Dr. Kemp states that many women only had part-time posts or did cleaning by the day and, in reality, often had very irregular work.

Age on taking to Prostitution.

Dr. Kemp gives the women's age when they first came in contact with the morality police.

	%
Under 18	6.0
18 to 20	43.2
21 to 25	39.6
26 to 30	7.9
Over 30	3.3

He states that the average age at which the women began to live as prostitutes was, as far as could be ascertained, 21.6.

Immediate Causes of Prostitution.

	%
Poverty or dire economic need	24.2
Fondness of dancing and restaurant life	22.8
Influence of sisters or women friends	13.2
Influence of <i>souteneur</i>	8.3
Tendency to vagabondage	3.4
Other causes or cause unknown	28.1

Convictions.

The age at which the women first came into contact with the morality police is given above. 54.3% of the women had served prison sentences for having transgressed the injunction

to find lawful employment, 36% had been in prison for other offences (larceny, receiving of stolen goods, fraud, engaging in sexual intercourse while they had venereal disease, etc.). Altogether, 64.7% had been in prison. 60.2% had been fined.

Social Service Assistance.

No information.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

50 case-sheets sent by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor and compiled by the research psychologist on the staff of a New York house of detention.

Age.

Under 21.....	1	31 to 35.....	9
21 to 25	19	36 to 40.....	2
26 to 30	16	Over 40	3

Nationality.

All the women were American. 27 were negroes, 19 of white race, and 3 of mixed races, and 1 a North-American Indian. 26 of their parents (14 fathers, 12 mothers) had been born outside the United States, 18 in Europe, the rest in South America and the West Indies.

Civil Status.

23 single, 27 married (including 5 widowed, 4 divorced, 15 living apart from their husbands).

Marriage Age.

Age	Number	Age	Number
13	1	20.....	1
14	1	22.	2
15	4	24.....	1
16	3	25.....	1
17	4	26.....	1
18	5	34.....	1
19	2		

Legitimacy.

49 legitimate, 1 doubtful.

Mental Level.

Superior intelligence	3
Normal intelligence	14
Dull normal.....	9
Border-line	11
Feeble-minded	13

The investigator added the following remarks :

Pleasant and co-operative	6
Quiet and refined	4
Refined.....	1
Easy and self-assured	2
Self-assured and attractive	1
Co-operative	1
Lazy or easily discouraged	3
Nervous or lacking in self-confidence	5
Given to worry	3
Apathetic or very slow	6
Headstrong, argumentative	1
Restless, talkative, hostile	1
Talkative, irritable	1
Careless, indifferent	1
Irresponsible	1
Embittered	1
Introverted	2
Unco-operative and sullen	1
Weak	1
Self-pitying	2
No information	6

Father's Occupation.

Skilled and unskilled workers	20
Farmers	4
Shopkeepers	4
Contractors	2
Mill-owner	1
Owner of mattress business	1
Real estate salesman	1
Clerks	2
Head of weather bureau	1
Jewellery appraiser	1
Chauffeur	1
Sailor	1

Policeman	1
Pianist, singer	2
Waiter	1
Clergymen	2
Baptist preacher	1
No information	5

22 of the mothers also worked outside their homes after marriage.

Home Conditions.

Brought up by strangers	3
Brought up by relatives	7
At home : one parent	23
At home : both parents	17
Very good home ..	3
Good treatment	24
Family quarrels.....	3
Parents too strict	9
Poor treatment	4
Lack of discipline	1
Unhappy home	2
Poverty.....	3
Unkind treatment	1

9 of the fathers were said to drink to excess.

Altogether, 8 of the women seem to have had good homes and to have been brought up by both parents. There were 14 families with 6 or more children. The average number of children was 4.3.

Education.

Elementary education only	29
Secondary education	16
Professional training.....	5

School-leaving Age.

(Compulsory school attendance is up to 14 in some States, to 16 or 18 in others.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
10	1	16.....	7
12	4	17.....	7
13	9	18.....	3
14	11	19.....	2
15	6		

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
13	3	18.....	7
14	2	19.....	3
15	8	20.....	4
16	9	21 or over	7
17	7		
Left to work			16
Marriage			15
Ran away			8
On parents' death			4
Sent to a reformatory ..			1
Sent to boarding-school			1
Ran away with a lover ...			1

First Employment.

Domestic servants	19
In factories or workshops	8
Waitresses	7
Laundresses... ..	3
Actresses	2
Clerks	3
Masseuse	1
Shop-assistants	2
Governess	1
Never worked	4

Age when began working.

Age	Number	Age	Number
10	1	16.....	3
12	3	17.....	5
13	3	18.....	5
14	5	19.....	2
15	9	20 or over	8

Never worked, 4.

No information, 2.

16 worked very irregularly or changed their positions frequently

Age at which the Women had their First Sexual Experience.

Age	Number	Age	Number
12	1	18.....	8
13	2	19.....	3
14	5	20.....	2
16	6	21.....	2
17	9	22.....	1

No information, 3.

Age on taking to Prostitution.

Age	Number	Age	Number
15	2	25	3
16	2	26	3
17	2	27	2
18	4	28	2
19	3	29	2
20	3	30	2
21	6	31	1
22	3	32	2
23	3	34	1
24	3		

Immediate Cause of Prostitution.

Poverty	21
Illness or physical weakness	2
Influence of friends	8
Wanted "easy money"	4
Wanted money for clothes and luxuries	4
Wanted money for drugs	3
Tired of work	2
Did it for the novelty	1
No information	5

Employment at the Time.

Employed	9
In casual work	6
Had given up their jobs	2
Unemployed	29
Never worked	4

Age on First Conviction.

Under 21	11	31 to 35	5
21 to 25	18	Over 35	1
26 to 30	15		
One conviction			8
Two convictions			14
Three to five convictions			23
Six to ten convictions			5

Social Service Assistance.

42 were not offered assistance on their first conviction; 1 was assisted by the House of the Good Shepherd; 1 by a parole officer; 6 by a Social Service Bureau; 11 were offered assistance at a subsequent conviction.

FRANCE

356 case-sheets from the following sources :

Meurthe-et-Moselle : 50 medico-social enquiries, selected from 2,950 files, conducted by Dr. Benech, Director of the Municipal Medical and Public Health Office, Nancy; *Hérault* : 70 enquiries made among prostitutes at Montpellier, Beziers and Sète by the Hérault Public Health Department (Director : Dr. Scherb); *Var* : 22 enquiries made at Toulon by the Commissioner of Police, Head of the Criminal Investigation Department; 2 enquiries made at Draguignan by the Commissioner of Police; 8 enquiries made at St. Raphael by the Commissioner of Police; *Loire* : 22 enquiries conducted by the Head of the Criminal Investigation Department, St. Etienne; *Loiret* : 7 enquiries conducted by the Loiret Departmental Inspectors' Office (Inspector Dr. Levy); *Loire-Inférieure* : 15 enquiries made by the Head of the Criminal Investigation Department, Nantes; *Alpes-Maritimes* : 75 enquiries conducted by Dr. Bonnet, Director of the District Anti-Venereal Clinic, Nice; *Isère* : 12 enquiries conducted by the Social Welfare Worker of the Anti-Venereal Clinic, Grenoble; *Paris* : 50 enquiries conducted by the Police Prefecture; *Lyons* : 23 enquiries conducted by Dr. Carle, Director of the Public Health Inspection Department.

Age.

Under 21.....	26	31 to 35.....	40
21 to 25	147	36 to 40.....	17
26 to 30	104	Over 40	12

Nationality.

All but 1 of French nationality.

Civil Status.

236 single, 69 married (including 4 widowed, 19 divorced, 31 separated).

Legitimacy.

15 illegitimate, 256 legitimate. In 85 cases, there was no information.

Mental Level.

Superior intelligence	13
Normal intelligence	263
Border-line	49
Abnormal.....	31

The investigators added remarks describing some of the women. They were : unbalanced (5), headstrong, unruly (4), lazy (4), weak (2), untruthful (2), no maternal feelings (2), no memory or affection (1), impatient of restraint (1).

Home Conditions.

Good	117	Very bad	7
Very good	11	Fair	66
Bad	93	No information	62

Education.

Elementary education	313
Post primary	4
Secondary education	13
University	1
Professional training	2
No information	23

School-leaving Age.

(Compulsory school attendance, 6 to 13; part-time, 13 to 18.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
8	2	15	24
9	2	16	10
10	14	17	14
11	19	18	9
12	58	20	1
13	141	21	2
14	38		

For 22, there was no information.

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
7	1	17	39
8	1	18	50
9	1	19	29
10	3	20	41
11	2	21 to 25	58
12	4	26 to 28	6
13	10	Never left	6
14	22	Orphans	3
15	24	No information	15
16	32		

First Employment.

Domestic servants	75
In factories or workshops	71
Waitresses	13
Laundresses.....	9
Actresses, dancers, etc.	2
Clerks	20
Nurses or hospital assistants	7
In dressmaking, sewing or millinery	44
Shop-assistants	30
Hairdressers or manicurists.....	11
Farm workers	22
Governess	1
Hawker	1
Air-pilot	1
At home	12
Never worked	25
No information	10

Age on taking to Prostitution.

Age	Number	Age	Number
15	1	23	9
16	3	24	4
17	1	25	5
18	13	26	6
19	6	27	3
20	7	28	5
21	20	31	1
22	23	32	1

No information in 247 cases.

Employment at the Time.

Domestic servants	39
In factories or workshops	23
Waitresses	17
Laundresses.....	2
Actresses, dancers, etc.	3
Clerks, typists	8
Nurses or hospital assistants	3
Shop-assistants	8
In dressmaking, millinery or sewing	10

Hairdressers or manicurists.....	5
"Entraîneuses"	6
Various or unspecified	13
At home or keeping house	16
Had given up their jobs.....	15
Never worked	24
Unemployed	118
No information	45

Age at First Conviction.

Under 21.....	33	31 to 35.....	4
21 to 25	44	No information	15
26 to 30	13		

247 had never been convicted.

Social Service Assistance.

70 women were offered assistance at their first conviction, 50 by the social service assistant attached to the police prefecture, 20 by other welfare agencies.

INDIA

Bengal.

50 life histories of prostitutes living in better-class and lower-class brothels in Calcutta.

Age.

Under 21.....	2	36 to 40.....	1
21 to 25	10	Over 40	2
26 to 30	9	No information	28
31 to 35	0		

Nationality.

All appear to have been Indian.

Civil Status.

6 single, 44 married (none of the married women were living with their husbands; 22 were widows, 9 had left their husbands because of ill-treatment, 2 had been enticed away, 4 were turned out, 7 left their husbands).

Marriage Age

Age	Number	Age	Number
3	1	11.....	1
5	2	12.....	1
6	2	13.....	4
7	7	14.....	1
8	3	15.....	1
9	5	16.....	1
10	3		

12 were said to have been married in childhood.

Legitimacy.

25 apparently legitimate, 2 illegitimate. For the rest, there was no information; a few of these were the daughters of prostitutes.

Mental Level.

Only given in a few cases.

Father's Occupation.

Cultivators	2	Clerks	2
Skilled workman ...	1	Actor	1
Tradesmen	4		

In addition, 3 women were said to come from middle-class families, 2 from respectable families, 1 from a lower middle-class family and 2 from poor families.

Home Conditions.

4 became orphans while very young, 1 lost her mother and 1 her father while she was still a child. No information is given in the other cases.

Education.

Elementary education.....	10	(only 1 was at school for 4 years or more).
No school education	40	

School-leaving Age.

Age	Number	Age	Number
6	2	10.....	1
7	5	11.....	1
9	1		

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
4	1	11.....	2
5	1	13.....	3
6	1	14.....	1
7	6	15.....	1
8	1	17.....	1
9	5	18.....	2
10	3		

Never left, 2; no information, 20.

First Employment.

Domestic servants	11
Dancer and musician	1
Worked at home	38

Immediate Cause of Prostitution.

8 women seem to have become prostitutes through the influence of prostitutes or procurers; 5 were induced to prostitute themselves by *souteneurs*; 6 were said to have become prostitutes because they were left widows and had no means of support; 5, because they were abandoned by their lovers; 7, because they could earn a living in no other way; 1, because she was turned out by her husband; 3, because their mothers were prostitutes; 4, because they wanted to have a free life; 2, because the life attracted them. In 8 cases, there was no information.

Convictions.

No convictions are mentioned. 25 women said they had never been convicted.

Social Service Assistance.

None of the women is said to have received assistance. 23 said they had never received or been offered assistance.

Bombay.

50 statements recorded by the Bombay City Police.

Age.

Under 21.....	4	31 to 35.....	11
21 to 25	16	36 to 40.....	2
26 to 30	13	Over 40.....	4

Nationality.

1 Anglo-Indian, 49 Indian.

Civil Status.

23 were single, 25 married (including 16 widowed). For 2, there was no information.

Marriage Age.

Age	Number	Age	Number
6	2	11.....	2
8	2	13.....	1
9	2	14.....	1
10	5	15.....	1

6 were said to have been married very young. For 3, there was no information.

Legitimacy.

2 were said to be illegitimate, several others were the daughters of prostitutes.

Mental Level.

Superior intelligence	3
Normal intelligence	46
Border-line	1

Father's Occupation.

Cultivators	6	Coachman.....	1
Factory workers	2	Bandsman	1
Tradesmen	3	Police N.C.O.	1
Manservant	1	No information	15

Home Conditions.

Brought up by relatives	4
Brought up by one parent	7
Home very poor	6
Ill-treated by husband	2
Deserted by parents	1
Parents died when she was 7	1
Kidnapped.....	1
Mother a prostitute	2
Brought up by a prostitute	1
Dedicated to a god	9
No information	27

Education.

9 had been at school. 1 said she had been to a primary school, 1 said she had studied up to Standard I, 1 up to Standard II, 1 up to Standard III, 2 up to Standard IV, 2 up to Standard V, 1 up to Standard VI.

School-leaving Age.

Age	Number	Age	Number
10	2	16.....	1
11	1	17.....	1
12	3		

No information, 1.

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
13	3	19.....	2
14	3	20.....	8
15	9	21.....	1
16	7	24.....	1
17	8	25.....	1
18	6		

No home, 1.

First Employment.

Domestic servants ..	7	Hawker	1
Labourers	2	Dancer	1
Cultivators	3	Beggar	1
Mill-hand	1		

Immediate Cause of Prostitution.

Influence of prostitutes and procurers	14
Left a widow, no means of support	8
Own inclination	1
Destitution	5
<i>Souteneurs</i>	6
Abandoned by lovers	3
Brought up by prostitutes	4
No information	9

(Poverty is mentioned in a great many cases as a contributory cause.)

Age on First Conviction.

Under 21.....	0	31 to 35.....	2
21 to 25	3	36 to 40.....	3
26 to 30	7	Over 40.....	1

4 had been convicted once more, 1 twice more.

34 had never been convicted.

Social Service Assistance.

4 had been detained in a rescue home; 2 had been offered assistance but had refused it.

United Provinces.

38 case-sheets, origin unknown.

Age.

Under 21.....	12	31 to 35.....	3
21 to 25	14	No information	1
26 to 30	8		

Nationality.

All were Indian.

Civil Status.

21 single, 16 married (including 8 widowed, 1 divorced, 4 living apart from their husbands), 1 no information.

Marriage Age.

Age	Number	Age	Number
8	2	14.....	1
10	1	16.....	1
11	2		

1 was said to have been married young. For 8, there was no information.

Legitimacy.

10 were said to be illegitimate. The others appear to have been legitimate.

Mental Level.

16 were said to be normal, 1 certifiable; for the rest, there was no information.

Home Conditions.

Immoral environment	1
Mother a prostitute	7
Professional prostitute from childhood	3
Poor but respectable family	3
Respectable family	1
Poor family; left an orphan	1
Kidnapped	2
No information	20

Education.

Elementary education, 2 (1 other was said to have been to school); no school education, 35.

School-leaving Age.

1 left at 9, 1 at 11.

Age on leaving Home.

This is only given in 3 or 4 cases.

First Employment.

Domestic service	3	Said to have worked . . .	1
Labourer	1	Never employed . . .	33

Age at which the Women had their First Sexual Experience.

The reply states that the women are usually between 13 and 14 when they have their first sexual experience; and that with the daughters of dancing girls and prostitutes, the age of 14 is fixed for the first sexual experience.

Age on taking to Prostitution.

Age	Number	Age	Number
14	4	16	1
15	2	22	1

For the rest there was no information.

The reply states that the women are usually between 14 and 16 when they become prostitutes.

Immediate Cause of Prostitution.

Brought up to the profession	13
Influence of prostitutes	1
Desire to be independent	1

Own inclination	5
Deserted by lover	4
To keep her husband	1
Left widows; poverty.....	4
Husband ill-treated her	1
No information	8

Convictions.

Only 2 women were said to have been convicted—1 at 23, 1 at 24.

Social Service Assistance.

None of the women appear to have received any assistance.

Madras.

The reply stated that the information asked for in the questionnaire had not been furnished because there was no agency in the Presidency through which it could be obtained. Information gained by the police pointed to the following ways in which women start a life of prostitution :

(a) Early marriage which results in failure, leads the girl to find a paramour and this often results in a succession of changes;

(b) Domestic unhappiness forces girls to find keepers; and

(c) Parents introduce their daughters to prostitution with a view to profit by their earnings.

In a later reply, the Government stated that there was no indication that the economic depression had affected the incidence of prostitution.

Punjab.

The reply states that the Government did not have sufficient time to undertake an extensive enquiry. 3 case-sheets were enclosed but, in accordance with the principle laid down in the introduction, these have not been used.

Central Provinces.

The reply states that no information is given because the circumstances stated do not exist. In a later reply, the majority of prostitutes were said to be drawn from the lower and depressed classes.

Assam.

No detailed particulars can be given in the time available. It is believed that almost everywhere the majority of prostitutes come from the lower strata of society—*i.e.*, from low castes. Such women have no employment and their home environment is of a low order. It is usual to deny the fact of prostitution. The usual causes can be summed up as follows :

- (a) Poverty;
- (b) Cruelty or oppression which drives them from their homes;
- (c) Absence of a custom allowing remarriage of widows.

In a later reply, it was stated that a large proportion of prostitutes were such by heredity, and for this reason the type of prostitute had been little affected by the economic crisis.

Bihar and Orissa.

Details of 1 case were sent. These have not been used (see above, Punjab).

Coorg.

The reply states that as there are no prostitutes in the province, the information required cannot be furnished.

Delhi.

The reply states that it is regretted that no information is available.

North-West Frontier Province.

The reply states that no such enquiry could usefully be conducted in the Province.

Sind.

The reply states that prostitutes are generally recruited from families which have adopted this profession for generations. Some prostitutes are recruited from the lower and destitute classes.

Burma.

The reply states that practically all prostitutes are uneducated except Anglo-Indians, and that most have been introduced to prostitution by *souteneurs* who lead them astray by promises of

marriage, etc. A number begin life as domestic servants, for which work they receive little or no pay and prostitute themselves in order to earn some money. The mental condition of the majority is below normal.

ITALY

50 case-sheets; origin unknown.

Age.

21 to 25	12	36 to 40.....	9
26 to 30	14	Over 40	5
31 to 35	10		

Nationality.

All the women were Italian.

Civil Status.

38 single, 12 married (including 1 widowed, 9 separated).

Legitimacy.

No information.

Mental Level.

Normal intelligence	9
Limited intelligence	40
Abnormal.....	1

Father's Occupation.

Peasant farmers.....	10
Skilled and unskilled workmen	21
Tradesmen	2
Clerks	4
No information	13

Home Conditions.

Brought up by relatives	1
Brought up in an institute.....	1
At home : with one parent	3
Good home	28
Family quarrels.....	4
Immorality	3
Father alcoholic	3
Ignorance	1

Father or mother in lunatic asylum	2
Brought up in an institute.....	1
No information	28

3 had very poor homes.

Education.

Elementary education only	37
Secondary education	1
Professional training.....	1
Never attended school	11

School-leaving Age.

(Compulsory school attendance for 8 years.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
7	1	12.....	6
8	8	13.....	5
9	4	15.....	3
10.....	6	16.....	1
11	4	18.....	1

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
13	1	19.....	6
15	2	20.....	3
16	9	21 to 25.....	12
17	3	26 to 30.....	3
18	11		

First Employment.

Domestic servants	5
In factories and workshops	9
Waitresses	3
Laundresses.....	10
Shop-assistants	2
In dressmaking, millinery or sewing	4
Tramway conductor	1
Charcoal burner	1
Barrister	1
Type-setter	1
Never worked	13

Employment on taking to Prostitution.

Employed	1
Unemployed	36
Never worked	13

Age at First Conviction.

Under 21.....	21	1 conviction	3
21 to 25	10	5 convictions	7
26 to 30	6	15 convictions	22
30 to 35	6	More than 15	11
Never convicted	7		

Social Service Assistance.

11 had been offered assistance at their first conviction.
All had been sent to institutions.

JAPAN

The Japanese reply gave the results of an enquiry undertaken in 1933. It showed that of 651 prostitutes, 46 had previously been geishas, 281 had been barmaids, 87 domestic servants, 71 farm servants, 68 waitresses, 47 factory workers and 51 had had miscellaneous occupations.

POLAND

100 case-sheets sent on behalf of the Polish Government by the National Committee for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children. The information was supplied by homes and institutions (30 cases), station missions (13 cases), the National Committee itself (6 cases), a child welfare society (1 case) and the women police (50 cases).

Age.

Under 21.....	10	31 to 35.....	9
21 to 25	48	36 to 40.....	4
26 to 30	27	Over 40.....	2

Nationality.

95 were Polish, 5 Jewish.

Civil Status.

91 were single, 9 married (including 1 widowed, 4 divorced, 4 separated).

Legitimacy.

93 were legitimate, 7 illegitimate.

Mental Level.

Superior intelligence	19
Normal intelligence	52
Below normal	2
Limited intelligence	23
Abnormal.....	2

Venereal Disease.

47 out of 50 women had had venereal disease. In 50 cases, the question was not asked. Of the 47, 4 had contracted the disease before becoming prostitutes; 39 within a year of becoming prostitutes; 2 more within 2 years; 2 more within 3 years.

Father's Occupation.

Skilled and unskilled workers	46
Small-holders	4
Civil servants	3
Steward	1
House agent	1
Sailor	1
Landowner	1
Merchant	1
Factory manager	1
Educated classes	5
No information	35

Home Conditions.

The first 50 case-sheets give only the father's occupation and state that 7 of the women were orphans. In the second 50, the home conditions are described as follows :

Brought up by strangers, relatives or in an institution, 11;
Brought up at home, with one parent, 16.

1 girl had lost both parents when she was 16, another when she was 18; in 8 cases, the home was said to be poor. In 14 cases, neither poverty nor the death of parents was mentioned.

Education.

Elementary education only	77
Secondary education	7
Professional training.....	5
Educated at home.....	1

School-leaving Age.

(Compulsory school attendance, 7 to 14.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
12	2	16.....	12
13	24	17.....	2
14	42	18.....	1
15	14	22.....	1

No information, 1.

Age on leaving Home.

(These include the ages at which the children were sent to institutions.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
1 1/2.....	1	14.....	6
5	2	15.....	10
6	2	16.....	15
7	2	17.....	8
8	3	18.....	14
9	1	19.....	8
12	1	20.....	5
13	1	Over 20	6

Never left, 3; no information, 12.

Left to work	14
Death of parents	5
Ran away	6
Family quarrels.....	1
Marriage	1
Turned out because she was a prostitute.....	1
Because she was pregnant	1
No information	71

First Employment.

Domestic servants	39
In factories	3
Waitresses	8
Laundress	1
Actresses, dancers, etc.	2
Clerk	1
Shop-assistants	12

Teachers or governesses	2
In dressmaking, millinery or sewing	8
Workers	9
Home worker	1
Never worked	13

17 said they changed their position frequently; 38 said they did not. For 32, there was no information.

Age on taking to Prostitution (approximate).

Age	Number	Age	Number
15	3	22	3
16	4	23	4
17	5	24	7
18	4	27	1
19	8	28	1
20	6	36	1
21	3		

Employment at the Time.

Employed	19
Unemployed	75
No information	6

Age at First Conviction.

Under 21	14	26 to 30	1
21 to 25	9	Never convicted....	73

2 were convicted at 15, 2 at 16, 2 at 17, 2 at 18.

3 had only been convicted once; 9 more than once but less than 5 times, 3 more than 5 times. 6 said they had been convicted "often" or "very often", 3 had no recollection how many times they had been convicted. For 3, there was no information.

Social Service Assistance.

16 women had been offered help at one time or another; 2 of them refused it. The help was given partly by public offices, more often by private associations.

ROUMANIA

30 case-sheets sent by the Roumanian delegate on the Advisory Committee on Social Questions. The information was collected at a municipal venereal disease clinic.

Age.

Under 21.....	10	31 to 35.....	2
21 to 25	12	36 to 40.....	2
26 to 30	4		

Nationality.

15 were Roumanian, 5 of Russian origin, 2 were Jewish, 2 Hungarian; the nationality of 6 was not stated.

Civil Status.

18 were single, 6 married (including 5 divorced).
In 6 cases there was no information.

Legitimacy.

6 were legitimate, 12 illegitimate. For 12, there was no information.

Mental Level.

Normal intelligence, 30.

Home Conditions.

1 girl was said to have been brought up in an orphanage. Apart from this, no information is given on home conditions.

Education.

Elementary education only	16
Secondary education	5
Professional training.....	2
Illiterate	7

School-leaving Age.

(School attendance compulsory for 7 years.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
9	3	14.....	1
10	1	15.....	2
11	1	17.....	2
12	10		

No information, 3.

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
14	2	20.....	1
15	2	21.....	2
16	4	22.....	2
17	3	23.....	1
18	5	28.....	1
19	4	35.....	1

No information, 2.

First Employment.

Domestic servants	5
In factories or workshops	6
Clerical work	2
Shop-assistant	1
Kept house	8
Worked with parents	5
Never worked	1
No information	2

Convictions.

The reply states that in Roumania prostitution is not a punishable offence.

Social Service Assistance.

The reply states that 12 of the women had been interned in a hospital for venereal disease (5 once, 5 twice, 2 four times); 14 were never interned; in 4 cases, there is no information; 2 women were said never to have received assistance; 1 was said to have been assisted without result.

In addition, the Roumanian Government's report contains the following general observations :

Usually prostitutes have only attended a primary school. Very few are met with who have attended secondary or occupational training schools. They are women who have left school between the ages of 11 and 14.

Their first employment is apprenticeship or domestic service. These women have generally left their families at the age of 18. The family circumstances are of a low standard, the parents being poor and in most cases illiterate.

Roumanian law provides no punishment for prostitution. If the prostitute is under age, she is confined in the Women Prostitutes' Home belonging to the Health Ministry.

In most cases, the woman's mental development is below normal. Mental defectives are frequently met with, but no case has ever been observed of a woman of superior intelligence.

TURKEY

50 case-sheets from Ankara, 50 from Istanbul and 50 from Izmir. The replies from Ankara and Izmir bear the stamp of an Anti-Venereal Commission.

Age (Ankara only).

Under 21.....	0	31 to 35.....	14
21 to 25	13	36 to 40.....	2
26 to 30	21		

Nationality (Ankara only).

All were Turkish.

Civil Status (Ankara only).

35 single, 15 married (all divorced).

Legitimacy (Ankara only).

15 legitimate, 35 illegitimate.

Mental Level (Ankara only).

Dull normal..... 46 Below normal 4

Venereal Disease.

118 had had venereal disease; 32 had not.

92 had been infected after they became prostitutes, 5 before. There was no information for 21 cases.

The Istanbul case-sheets state that 17 women contracted venereal disease within 1 year of becoming prostitutes, 22 more within 2 years, 3 more within 3 years, 4 more within 4 years; all within 6 years.

The Ankara case-sheets state that 18 women had had both syphilis and gonorrhea, 2 syphilis alone, and 27 gonorrhea alone.

Home Conditions (Ankara and Izmir).

47 women in the Izmir list were said to come from poor homes; for 3, there was no information.

45 women in the Ankara list were said to come of respectable families; 4, of immoral families.

Education (Ankara only).

Elementary education only	15
Secondary education	2
No education	33

School-leaving Age (Ankara only).

(Compulsory school attendance, 7 to 15.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
12	2	14.....	3
13	3	15.....	3

No information, 4.

Age on leaving Home (Ankara only).

Age	Number	Age	Number
4	2	14.....	5
5	1	15.....	6
8	2	16.....	3
10	1	17.....	1
11	1	18.....	2
12	1	19.....	2
13	4	20.....	1

Never left, 3; no information, 1.

Main Employment.

Domestic servants	61
In factories or workshops	11
Actresses or dancers	2
In dressmaking, millinery or sewing	1
Clerk	1
Nurses or hospital assistants	3
At home or never worked	71

Age at which the Women had their First Sexual Experience.

Age	Number	Age	Number
10	1	20.	25
11	1	21.	5
12	7	22.	9
13	10	23.	7
14	10	24.	1
15	16	25.	4
17	4	27.	1
18	18	30.	1
19	12		

No information, 18.

15 said they had had their first sexual experience on marriage; 3 others of their own accord; 15 said they had been seduced; 3 said they had been raped.

Age on taking to Prostitution (Ankara only).

Age	Number	Age	Number
12	1	20.....	4
13	2	21.....	13
14	2	22.....	5
15	2	23.....	2
16	2	24.....	1
17	7	25.....	1
18	3	27.....	1
19	2	28.....	2

No information, 1.

Immediate Cause of Prostitution (Ankara only).

3 were said to have been seduced, 6 had been induced to become prostitutes by others, 1 had been seduced and turned out by her family, 4 were kidnapped, 1 became a prostitute because of poverty.

Convictions (Ankara only).

9 had been convicted, 41 were never convicted.

The convictions were for using insulting language to the police (4), for forgery (1), for disorderly behaviour in a brothel (1), for not having paid the rent of a brothel (1), and for having failed to attend the medical examination (2).

Social Service Assistance (Ankara only).

None of the women were said to have received any assistance.

URUGUAY

54 case-sheets taken from the register of prostitutes.

Age.

No information.

Nationality.

50 were Uruguayan. For 4, there was no information.

Civil Status.

49 were single, 5 married (including 1 widowed, 2 divorced).

Legitimacy.

No information.

Mental Level.

Normal intelligence	51
Feeble-minded	3

Home Conditions.

The information given only refers to material conditions.

Poor	38	Well-to-do	8
Modest	2	Wealthy	2
Not poor	1		

Education.

Public school	36
Religious school	1
No education	17

School-leaving Age.

(Compulsory school attendance, 6 to 14.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
7	2	13	5
8	2	14	2
10	2	15	3
11	8	16	2
12	9	18	1

No information, 1; no education, 17.

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
11	1	19	5
12	3	20	6
13	1	21	1
14	4	22	3
15	7	23	1
16	2	24	2
17	4	25	1
18	8		

Never left, 2; no information, 3.

Main Employment.

Domestic service.....	25
In factories or workshops	8
Laundresses.....	2
In dressmaking, millinery or sewing	3
Farm worker	1
In a laboratory	1
Never worked	13
No information	1

None are said to have been employed when they became prostitutes.

Age when first arrested.

Under 21.....	22	Over 30.....	1
21 to 25	17	Never arrested	7
26 to 30	3	No information	4

4 were said to have been arrested 10 times; 4, 20 times; 13, from 20 to 50 times; and 1, 200 times. For the rest, there is no information.

Social Service Assistance.

16 women had at one time or another been interned in Good Shepherd Homes; 9 of these had been interned for more than a year. Asked whether anyone had urged them not to become prostitutes, 31 said no one. Of the others, 13 mentioned parents or relatives; 6, their friends; 2, the Good Shepherd; 1, her employer; and 1, her lover.

From Voluntary Associations:

**INTERNATIONAL BUREAU FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF TRAFFIC
IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN**

DANZIG

18 case-sheets collected by the Danzig Committee for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children. The information was obtained from the women themselves, from police files and from the records of social welfare organisations.

Age.

21 to 25	4	36 to 40.....	6
26 to 30	1	Over 40	2
31 to 35	5		

Nationality.

All were citizens of Danzig.

Civil Status.

16 were single, 2 married (including 1 divorced, 1 living apart from her husband).

Legitimacy

3 illegitimate, 15 legitimate.

Mental Level.

Normal intelligence	9
Below normal	1
Border-line	2
Limited intelligence	5
Feeble-minded	1

Home Conditions.

Brought up in an institution	2
Brought up by strangers	1
At home, with one parent	7
Good home	1
Respectable home	7
Family quarrels	1
Father lazy, great poverty	1
Mother said to be immoral	1
Mother formerly a prostitute	1

In 4 cases, the home conditions are not said to have been bad or defective.

Education.

Elementary education only	17
Secondary education	1

(1 girl attended a school for backward children.)

School-leaving Age.

(Compulsory school attendance up to 14.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
13	2	15	1
14	15		

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
14	1	18.....	1
15	2	19.....	2
16	1	21 to 25	4
17	1		

Never left, 1; no information, 3.

First Employment.

Domestic servants	7
In factories or workshops	4
Shop-assistants	2
In dressmaking or sewing	2
Farm workers	2

Employment on taking to Prostitution.

Employed	5
Unemployed	6
Had given up their jobs.....	2
No information	5

Age at First Conviction.

Under 21	5	26 to 30.....	3
21 to 25	5	31 to 35.....	1

Never convicted, 1; no information, 3.

1 had only been convicted once, 1 had been convicted 4 times.

The remainder had had from 15 to 197 convictions.

Social Service Assistance.

13 had been offered assistance (by the Home Mission, refuges and welfare homes); in 1 case, assistance was not necessary; 5 had not been offered assistance.

HUNGARY

47 case-sheets supplied by the secretary of the Hungarian branch of the International Bureau. (A great many case-sheets were sent, some referring to women interviewed in 1915; only those dated 1933-1935 have been included in the report.)

Age.

Under 21	1	31 to 35.....	2
21 to 25	17	36 to 40.....	1
26 to 30	21	Over 40	1

Nationality.

No information.

Civil Status.

38 were single, 8 married (1 widowed, 7 divorced); for 1, there is no information.

Legitimacy.

2 were said to be illegitimate. In the other cases, there was no information.

Mental Level.

No information. The case-sheets only contained remarks on the women's characters. They were as follows : lazy (11), hates work (4), frivolous (7), cynical (2), untruthful (3), embittered (1), fond of luxury (1), cares for nobody (3), has a bad character (1). For 17, there was no information.

Venereal Disease.

13 said they had had venereal disease.

Home Conditions.

Brought up in an institution	3
Brought up by strangers	2
Brought up by relatives	7
At home with one parent	15
At home with both parents	16
Good home	4
Unkind treatment	2
Neglect.....	10
Family quarrels.....	1
Father alcoholic	1
Father immoral	1
Poverty.....	4
Institutions	3
No information	21

There were 7 families with 6 or more children; the average number of children was 3.2.

Education.

Elementary education only	42
Secondary education	2
Professional training.....	1
No education.....	2

School-leaving Age.

No information.

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
7	1	17.....	5
8	1	18.....	2
9	1	19.....	1
12	7	20.....	1
14	2	22.....	1
16	8		

3 were brought up in institutions. No information, 14.

Main Employment.

Domestic servants	19
In factories or workshops	4
Waitresses	4
Clerk	1
Shop-assistants	2
In dressmaking, millinery or sewing	1
Farm workers	1
Never worked	10
No information	2

2 are said to have changed their positions frequently.

Age at which the Women had their First Sexual Experience.

Age	Number	Age	Number
13	2	19.....	2
14	8	20.....	3
15	6	21.....	1
16	11	23.....	1
17	8	24.....	1
18	3		

No information, 1.

Immediate Cause of Prostitution.

9 said they became prostitutes to have an easy life without work; 9 said, because of bad company; 4, because their wages were too low; 4, to earn enough to keep their children; 4, because of unemployment; 3, because they liked the life; 2, because of neglect in adolescence; 1, because she was discontented with her work; 1, because she never learnt to work; 1, because she was

fond of luxury; 1, because of ill-health; 1, because her eyes got too weak to sew; 1, to earn more money; 1, because she wanted to get back to Budapest. For 5, there was no information.

Convictions.

No information.

Social Service Assistance.

It is not stated whether assistance was offered at the first conviction. At the time when the particulars were collected, nearly all the women seem to have been offered work; a few were offered shelter in a home.

SWITZERLAND

41 case-sheets collected by the Swiss National Union for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children. Half the cases were taken from police files, half from the records of institutions. The reply adds that a number of the women cannot be considered as prostitutes in the true sense of the word.

Age.

Under 21	15	31 to 35.....	2
21 to 25	10	36 to 40.....	1
26 to 30	11	Over 40.....	2

Nationality.

35 were Swiss, 5 German, 1 Italian.

Civil Status.

32 were single, 9 married (including 6 divorced).

Legitimacy.

39 legitimate, 2 illegitimate.

Mental Level.

Superior intelligence	5
Normal intelligence	11
Limited intelligence	19
Feeble-minded	6

The investigators added remarks describing some of the women. They were : nervous (3), very reserved (2), deceitful (2), defiant (1), sly (1).

Home Conditions.

Brought up by relations.....	2
At home, with one parent	7
Good home conditions.....	10
Respectable	1
Fair.....	2
Family quarrels.....	2
Lack of discipline	1
Father or mother immoral	5
Parents alcoholic	1
Unfavourable home conditions	5
Great poverty	4
No information	10

Education.

Elementary education only	40
Professional training.....	1

School-leaving Age.

(Compulsory school attendance varies in each canton. It is usually from 6 or 7 to 14 or 15).

Age	Number	Age	Number
12	1	16.....	6
14	18	17.....	1
15	15		

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
12	2	17.....	8
13	1	18.....	6
14	5	19.....	1
15	5	21 to 30.....	4
16	4		

Never left, 4; no information, 1.

First Employment.

Domestic servants	12
In factories or workshops	9
Waitresses	3
Laundress	1
Dancer	1
Shop-assistants	3

In dressmaking, millinery or sewing	2
Hairdressing or manicure	1
At home	7
Never worked	2

11 were said to have changed their occupation frequently.

Employment on taking to Prostitution.

Domestic servants	10
In factories or workshops	2
Waitresses	9
Shop-assistants	4
Actresses, dancers, etc.	3
Hairdresser	1
Clerk	1
At home	4
No information	7

Age at First Conviction.

Under 21	16	26 to 30.....	9
21 to 25	4		

Never convicted, 10; no information, 2.

1 was convicted at 13, 2 at 16, 5 at 17, 3 at 18.

Social Service Assistance.

21 were offered assistance at their first conviction, and 15 of these were sent to homes. 1 refused assistance.

JEWISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF GIRLS,
WOMEN AND CHILDREN

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

25 case-sheets sent in the order in which they appeared in the records of the Buenos Aires Committee of the Jewish Association. They describe women assisted in the years 1930-1933.

Age.

Under 21	5	31 to 35.....	7
21 to 25	2	36 to 40.....	1
26 to 30	9	Over 40	1

Nationality.

All were Jewish. 2 were Argentinian, 20 Polish, 2 French, 1 of Russian origin.

Civil Status.

10 were single, 15 married.

Legitimacy.

No information.

Mental Level.

Normal intelligence	17
Below normal	2
Retarded	1
Mental depression	1
Physical and moral exhaustion	1
No information	3

Venereal Disease.

6 were said to have venereal disease. For the remainder, there was no information.

Home Conditions.

9 of the women were said to have been brought up in an immoral or abnormal atmosphere. 15 were said to have had a normal upbringing. 3 were left orphans at an early age. The case-sheets also give the following information on the economic situation in the women's homes :

Good	1	Poor.....	4
Comfortable	2	No information	3
Average	15		

Education.

15 were said to be literate, 10 illiterate.

First Employment.

The employment of only 5 was given. 1 was a domestic servant. 4 were in dressmaking, millinery or sewing.

Prostitution.

Of the foreign women, 2 said they had been prostitutes in their native country, 20 said they had not been. For 1, there was no

information. Asked at whose instigation they had adopted the profession, 9 mentioned traffickers, 4 their husband, 3 other relatives, 1 her lover; 5 said on their own initiative. For 3, there was no information.

The main causes of prostitution were classified by the Committee as follows :

Procurers and other agents of prostitution	14
Born inclination	4
Desire for luxury	1
Desire for money	1
Immoral education	1
Poverty	4

Convictions.

No information.

Social Service Assistance.

The reply states that outside certain private organisations there is no social service available for such women.

UNITED KINGDOM

19 case-sheets sent in the order in which they appeared in the records of the Jewish Association (London).

Age.

Under 21	1	26 to 30	6
21 to 25	11	31 to 35	1

Nationality.

All were British-born Jewesses.

Civil Status.

15 single, 4 married (including 1 separated).

Legitimacy.

All legitimate.

Mental Level.

Normal intelligence	13
Below normal	5
Mentally and morally defective	1

Home Conditions.

Good	3
Respectable	1
Lack of discipline or supervision	6
No family life	2
Parents unhappy	2
Low moral standard	1
Quarrels with parents or step-parents	2
Unkind treatment	1
Unknown	1

9 homes were said to be poor or very poor.

Education.

Elementary education only, 19.

School-leaving Age.

(Compulsory school attendance, 6 to 14.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
14	17	15	2

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
15	2	19	3
17	5	20	2
18	1	21 to 26	4

2 stayed at home till married.

First Employment.

Waitress	1
Shop-assistants	3
In dressmaking and tailoring	14
Never worked	1

9 said they changed their positions frequently, 5 said they did not. For 4, there was no information.

Employment on taking to Prostitution.

Employed	4
Unemployed	14
Never worked	1

Immediate Cause of Prostitution.

Aversion to work	6
Irregular employment	3

Desire to make more money	2
Unhappy home life	2
Ill-health and poverty	1
Dislike of routine work	1
Lack of parental control	1
Hypersexuality	1
Mental abnormality	1
Forced by husband to become a prostitute.....	1

Age at First Conviction.

Under 21	5	26 to 30.....	1
21 to 25	4		

Never convicted, 9.

6 were only convicted once; 3 were convicted twice; 1, three times.

Social Service Assistance.

The Jewish Association offered assistance to all the women except 2, who did not require it. 3 refused help.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION FOR AID TO YOUNG WOMEN

ROUMANIA

3 cases taken from the records of the Federation's Refugee Home for minors. 50 cases from police files.

Age.

Under 21	6	26 to 30.....	12
21 to 25	33	31 to 35.....	2

Nationality.

37 were Roumanian, 6 Hungarian, 5 Jewish, 2 of Russian origin, 1 Polish, 1 Ukrainian.

Civil Status.

No information.

Legitimacy.

47 legitimate, 6 illegitimate.

Mental Level.

Normal intelligence..	50	Abnormal	1
Limited	1	No information	1

Home Conditions.

The information given refers chiefly to the reasons for leaving home. It appears that 5 children were brought up by relatives, 3 by strangers, 1 in an orphanage. 1 is said to have had no home. 11 were brought up at home with one parent. In 1 case, both parents died when the child was 14. In 2 cases, the children were said to be on good terms with their family. In the remaining 19 cases, there was no information.

Education.

Elementary education only	27
Secondary education	3
Professional training	3
University education	1
Illiterate	18

1 was described as still a student at the age of 24.

School-leaving Age.

(School attendance compulsory for 7 years.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
8	1	15	7
9	1	16	2
10	7	17	1
12	11	18	1
13	1	21	1

Still studying, 1; no information, 1.

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
13	1	18	6
14	3	19	7
15	8	20	5
16	9	21	1
17	6	22	2

No home, 1; no information, 4.

Left to work	5
Death of parents	8
Mother's remarriage	2
Family quarrels	4
Unkind treatment	1
Quarrel with step-parents	3
Turned out	2

Ran away	2
Left with a lover	7
Poverty	4
Came to Bucharest as a student	1
Abandoned by foster-parent	1
Marriage	1
Brought up in an orphanage	1
No home	1
No information ..	10

First Employment.

Domestic servants	14
In factories or workshops	5
Waitress	1
Actress, dancer, etc.	1
Clerk	3
Nurse or hospital assistant	1
Shop-assistants	3
In dressmaking, millinery or sewing	2
Hairdresser or manicurist	1
Kept house at home	13
Never worked	8

Age on taking to Prostitution or when First registered as a Prostitute.

Age	Number	Age	Number
13	1	21	6
15	3	22	3
17	9	23	3
18	6	24	1
19	8	25	1
20	6	27	1

No information, 5.

Convictions.

No information. 22 of the women were said to be registered prostitutes. 18 had been sent to the hospital for venereal disease.

Social Service Assistance.

23 women had been offered help at one time or another by social service workers and by the Federation for Aid to Young Women; 3 refused help.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

FRANCE

14 case-sheets from an institute of rehabilitation, 7 case-sheets sent from the French provinces.

Age.

Under 21	2	31 to 35.....	0
21 to 25	5	36 to 40.....	1
26 to 30	1	No information	12

Nationality.

3 were French, 1 German. For the rest, there was no information.

Civil Status.

3 were married; for the rest there was no information. (1 husband was serving a life sentence for murder.)

Legitimacy.

No information.

Mental Level.

Normal intelligence	2
Below normal	2
No information	17

1 was described as weak, 1 as unbalanced, 1 as alcoholic and morally indifferent.

Home Conditions.

Brought up in an institution	2
Foundling	1
Brought up at home : one parent	7
No family	2
Good family	1
Respectable family	3
Family quarrels.....	3
Child neglected	1
Parents immoral	3

Education.

Elementary education only	4
Professional training	1
Illiterate	4

1 was said to have had a good education, 2 to have had little education. For 9, there was no information.

School-leaving Age.

(Compulsory school attendance, 6 to 13; part time, 13 to 18.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
11	2	13	1
12	2	15	1

No information, 11.

First Employment.

Domestic servants	3
Clerk	1
Flower-girl	1
Occupation unknown	1
No information	15

3 were said to have changed their positions frequently.

Immediate Cause of Prostitution.

1 woman said she had been sent to a house of clandestine prostitution by an employment agency, 7 had been induced to prostitute themselves by *souteneurs*, 1 became a prostitute because of the failure of her marriage. In the other cases, there is no information.

Convictions.

5 had never been convicted, 2 had been convicted for soliciting and 6 for vagrancy (1 at 14, 3 at 16, 1 at 17).

Social Service Assistance.

14 had been in an institute for rehabilitation; 4 had been under the supervision of social service workers.

INDIA

499 out of 500 prostitutes have never been to school; they are almost all uneducated.

These women have generally become prostitutes because they were daughters of prostitutes, or because, owing to their being

unhappily married or unhappy in their own family, they ran away and began to drift as a result of difficult circumstances.

There were few convictions for soliciting; this is not practised openly in the streets to any great extent, but is increasing among the Anglo-Indians.

The mental level of these women is not generally very high, although in the majority of cases they cannot be said to be defective; they are simply neither developed nor educated. Sometimes, however, they are intelligent girls.

NORWAY

50 case-sheets.

Age.

21 to 25	15	36 to 40	6
26 to 30	15	Over 40	4
31 to 35	10		

Nationality.

No information.

Civil Status.

44 single, 5 married, 1 uncertain.

Legitimacy.

43 legitimate, 7 illegitimate.

Mental Level.

Normal intelligence	37
Below normal	1
Backward	1
Feeble-minded	1
No information	10

Health.

2 women were consumptive, 1 had bad health.

Father's Occupation.

Skilled and unskilled workers	16
Farmers	3
Tramway conductor	1
Concierge	1
Restaurant-keeper	1
Teacher	1

Non-commissioned officers	2
Small proprietors	4
No information	21

Home Conditions.

Brought up in an institution	3
Brought up by strangers or relatives	4
At home : one parent	14
No information	29

In 1 case, the mother was alcoholic, 1 home was very poor.
There were 10 families with 6 or more children.

Education.

Elementary education only	47
Secondary education	3

School-leaving Age.

(Compulsory school attendance in towns, 7 to 14; country districts, 8 to 15.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
10	1	15	11
11	4	16	7
12	7	17	1
13	12	19	1
14	6		

Age on leaving Home or Institution.

Age	Number	Age	Number
10	1	17	2
12	4	18	1
13	6	19	1
14	6	20	1
15	10	Over 21	1
16	8		

No information, 9

First Employment.

Domestic servants	27
In factories and workshops	3
Waitresses	10
Laundresses	2
Clerks	3
Shop-assistants and errand-girls	4
On a barge	1

Age on First Conviction.

Under 21	9	31 to 35... ..	0
21 to 25	32	36 to 40.	1
26 to 30	7	Over 40	1
1 conviction	17	3 to 5 convictions ..	7
2 convictions	9	6 to 10 convictions .	5

No information, 12.

3 had been convicted for theft, 1 for drunkenness.

Social Service Assistance.

31 had been offered assistance at the first conviction, the great majority by voluntary associations. 6 had refused help. 19 were not offered help.

NETHERLANDS

Information collected from Amsterdam police files. Part of the information refers to 1,600 women, part to 459 women, part to 123 women.

Age (1,600 women).

	%		%
Under 21	6.3	41 to 50.... ..	9.3
21 to 30	49.4	51 to 60.....	2.5
31 to 40	31.4	Over 60	0.5

Nationality (1,600 women).

	%		%
Dutch	82.7	Foreign	17.3

(The percentage of foreign women in Amsterdam is 2.7.)
35.5% were born in Amsterdam.

Civil Status (123 women).

	%	
Single	58.6	
Married	41.4	(including 30% living apart from their husbands).

Legitimacy.

No information.

Mental Level.

No information.

Home Conditions (123 women).

	%
Neglected by their parents	17.7
Neglected by step-parents	5.6
Immoral surroundings	8.1
Physical weaknesses	7.3
Parents alcoholic	10.5

Education (1,600 women).

All the women had been to elementary schools but very few had had higher education. Some had learnt a trade.

Age on leaving School and Home.

No information.

Employment (565 women).

Domestic servants	169
Day-workers	90
In factories or workshops	47
Waitresses	61
Dressmakers	57
Shop-assistants	18
Artists and dancers	17
No information	106

Reasons for taking to Prostitution.

The investigator considered that 1.6% became prostitutes to satisfy sexual needs. He considered that 15% became prostitutes as a result of the temptations of city life and that 85% came to the city for the purpose of prostitution.

Conviction and Social Service Assistance.

No information.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

26 case-sheets.

Age.

Under 21	1	31 to 35	1
21 to 25	14	36 to 40	2
26 to 30	8		

Nationality.

All were Czechoslovaks.

Civil Status.

24 single, 2 married (including 1 widowed).

Legitimacy.

22 were legitimate, 4 illegitimate.

Mental Level.

Normal intelligence	19
Limited intelligence	6
Feeble-minded	1

Home Conditions.

Brought up in institutions	1
Brought up by strangers or relatives	5
No family	1
At home : one parent	7
At home : both parents	4
Respectable home	2
Family quarrels.....	4
Unkind treatment	1
Poverty.....	1
Left an orphan at 13, 16	2
No information	16

Education.

Elementary only	22
Secondary (1 year)	1
Professional training.....	2
No information	1

School-leaving Age.

(Compulsory school attendance, 6 to 14.)

Age	Number	Age	Number
12	1	15.....	1
14	22		

No information, 2.

Age on leaving Home.

Age	Number	Age	Number
13	2	17.....	1
14	8	18.....	1
15	6	19.....	1
16	2	20.....	2

Never left, 1; no information, 2.

Left to work	15
Death of parents	3
Ran away	1
Sent to institutions	2
Family quarrels.....	1
Never left	1
No information	3

First Employment.

Domestic servants	14
In factories or workshops	2
Laundry	1
Shop-assistants	3
In dressmaking, millinery or sewing	2
Never worked	3
No information	1

7 were said to have changed their positions frequently.

Age on First Conviction.

The case-sheets state that prostitution is not an offence in Czechoslovakia. 1 woman had been arrested for prostitution under former regulations, 3 had been convicted of theft, 2 had been arrested for engaging in prostitution when they were minors, 1 had been convicted of disorderly behaviour, and 1 was arrested and sent to hospital for spreading venereal disease. 1 was deported from America for immoral conduct.

Social Service Assistance.

12 had received assistance at one time or another; most of these had been sent to a home.

ANNEX I

QUESTIONNAIRE ¹

In order to throw light on the circumstances in which women fall into a life of prostitution, it is desired to secure information on certain facts relating to the antecedents of such women in different countries.

For this purpose, it would be useful if a limited enquiry concerning adult women could be undertaken in countries represented on the Committee. The women should be nationals of the country replying. It is suggested that the information may be obtained by taking particulars from some fifty cases in licensed houses or from the same number of women in countries where there are no licensed houses. It is suggested that the particulars of the cases into which enquiry is made might be obtained in various ways, as, for instance, through clinics where there are social services, at courts where there are probation officers for adults, through social workers attached to prisons, or from rehabilitation homes.

- (a) Number or initials Age
Civil status (nationality, legitimacy, marital state)
.....
- (b) Type of school attended (primary, secondary, technical,
and if day-school or residential).
- (c) Age on leaving school.
- (d) Character of employment *first* entered. (Was work constantly changed? Was woman employed at time of becoming prostitute and at what kind of work?)
- (e) At what age did the woman leave home? What was the character of her home background?

¹ Part III of questionnaire on rehabilitation (document C.T.F.E.670(a)) sent in June 1935 to Governments and voluntary associations represented on the Traffic in Women and Children Committee of the League of Nations.

- (f) Age on first conviction for offence connected with prostitution. Number of subsequent convictions for similar offences.
 - (g) Did any social service give assistance on first conviction for an offence under (f)? If so, what was the service and the nature of the assistance given?
 - (h) What is the assessment of the mental condition of the woman (viz., certifiable, border-line, normal, superior)?
-